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MEMORIALS OF THE CITY TEMPLE

Ever yours,

Joseph Barker

MEMORIALS OF THE CITY TEMPLE

From the Formation of the Church in 1640 by

THOMAS GOODWIN, D.D.

CHAPLAIN TO OLIVER CROMWELL

By JOHN B. MARSH

AUTHOR OF "VENICE AND THE VENETIANS," ETC. ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY JOSEPH PARKER, D.D.

THE PRESENT PASTOR OF THE CITY TEMPLE

LONDON

DALDY, ISBISTER & CO.

56, LUDGATE HILL

1877

110. k. 663

LONDON:
PRINTED BY VIRTUE AND CO., LIMITED,
CITY ROAD.

Dedicated

AS A MARK OF RESPECT

TO THE

REV. JOSEPH PARKER, D.D.

PASTOR

EBENEZER HARRISON, WILLIAM P. NICHOLLS,

ELIHU BATES, JAMES JOHNSTON, JUNR.

AND

HENRY HUGHES

DEACONS

AND OTHER OFFICE-BEARERS

OF THE

CITY TEMPLE

PREFACE.

THE gathering up of the ravelled threads of history relating to the biography of that eminent Nonconformist divine, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, rather than the construction of a new life, has been the scope of my labour in writing this book. Dr. Goodwin was favoured by having two biographies offered to the public; and I have drawn something from each of these. The first life was written by his eldest son, who possessed advantages which no one following him could enjoy; but he failed to give anything like a fairly interesting or full account of his father's life and work. He dwells with filial love on his

father's Christian character, but gives us no pictures of the scenes of national interest in which he was an actor. The second biography was written by Dr. Halley, whose ability to furnish a scholar's estimate of the great preacher no one will dispute. And this he has done. But his biography is not more than a psychological study of the work of Grace on a human heart. Therefore there plainly appeared to be room for a third biography, which should trace the preacher from boyhood—through school and college; from home to Cambridge; from London to Holland, and back to London; that should take note of his acquaintances and friends; relate the founding of his first congregation; which should furnish a glimpse of the people who were his hearers; follow him from the Anchor Lane pulpit to St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Westminster Abbey, and St. Paul's; thence to Whitehall Palace and to Hampton Court;

afterwards accompanying him to Magdalen College, Oxford, of which he was the honoured president; return with him to Whitehall to the bedside of the dying Protector; and so on forwards amid changes and persecutions, not omitting even the stories told about him by spies, until we stand at length by his bedside, and listen to the last word he spoke before his soul winged her flight heavenward.

To do this the State Papers in the Public Record Office have largely contributed, and so have the MSS. and tracts in the British Museum, the valuable Records of Westminster Abbey, and the Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons. Heralds' College has done a little, and so has Dr. Williams's library.

In the progress of my work I have been indebted for valuable help to Mr. Selby, the Superintendent of the Literary Search Room, Record Office; to Mr. Overall, of the Guild-

hall Library; and to Mr. G. Richards, of the Bank of England Library.

For loans of books I have to acknowledge obligations to Mr. F. Fitch, of Hadleigh House, Highbury Park; to Mr. E. Bates, of the City; and to Mr. J. McDonagh, for contributions from several sources.

Finally, I have to offer my grateful thanks to Dr. Joseph Parker, the present honoured successor of Dr. Goodwin, for much good counsel where difficulties had arisen, and also for kindly help in the progress of my work.

JOHN B. MARSH.

THE COTTAGE,
217, KING'S ROAD, CHELSEA.

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INTRODUCTION.

ONE consideration alone determines me to write this prefatory note: it is to render honour to whom honour is due, by directing the gratitude and esteem of the City Temple congregation wholly towards Mr. Marsh, who, without any aid of mine, has collected all the facts with which this volume abounds. It is further due to the author to say that his work has been a labour of love, and that in no sense does he receive for it any remuneration from the church. Mr. Marsh has carefully and successfully worked out a suggestion of his own, and I thank him for having done so in a manner which is so highly creditable to all the parties concerned.

It is to be feared that Congregational

churches do not preserve their records very scrupulously, and hence a good deal of really interesting history is lost. Is there one such church in ten that knows where the title-deeds of its own property are? Which of our older churches can present a clear account of its own history? What of its ministers? its leading officers? its transitions from pastorate to pastorate? Every church ought to be religiously jealous of its own history, and to regard its past traditions as an inspiration and a responsibility. Mr. Marsh has helped us to do this. With such a book as this in our hands we should be animated by some of the most ennobling recollections that are to be found in English history, and be roused to efforts worthy of the character and service of our holy ancestry.

JOSEPH PARKER.

City Temple,
April 9th, 1877.

CHAPTER I.

1600—1634.

A Puritan Preacher and a Cambridge Student — Thomas Goodwin—His Father's Family—Studiousness as a Boy—Fame at College—Conversion—Choice of Preaching Style—University Friends—Rapid Progress—Appointments—Laud's Interference—Resignation of Appointments.

ONE week-day in the autumn of 1619, a large congregation assembled in a meeting-house in the little village of Dedham, near Cambridge, to hear the usual weekly lecture delivered by the Rev. John Rogers, an aged Puritan preacher, son of that Rogers who was burnt for Christ at Smithfield. The building was considered a spacious one in those days, yet it held only a few hundred people; and so highly was this

Puritan preacher esteemed, that the place was crowded up to the doors whenever he lectured. A great deal of good was no doubt effected by him in his own day, but only detached fragments of his sermons have come down to the present time. One passage of the sermon delivered on this fair day, more than two hundred and fifty years ago, has, however, been handed down to us by a youth present on the occasion.

The University of Cambridge at that time so much favoured the Puritan mode of thought and manner of preaching, that it was commonly called "a nest of Puritans;" and there were two acknowledged styles of preaching, each having its imitators amongst the students who then filled the halls of that famous university. The one may be called the florid rhetorical style, by which a man was able to display the riches of his learning; and the other was the plain preaching of the Gospel,

in which learning played a subordinate part to the setting forth of salvation through Jesus Christ. Mr. Rogers belonged to the latter class of preachers, or the Puritan sect, and many students from Cambridge attended his weekly lecture for the purpose of studying his style. Amongst the members of the congregation that had thronged to hear him on this particular occasion was a young student, who had ridden over rather with a view of criticizing the sermon than from any desire to profit by the discourse. He had been a member of the university six years; and on first entering he was not only the youngest but also the smallest student, for he was but thirteen when he left his father's house and became a scholar at Christ's College. Not only was he at that time the youngest and the smallest student, but he was naturally of a weakly constitution, being born prematurely. The six years that elapsed had wonderfully

improved his constitution; and his eager thirst for knowledge had been proved by his attaining, three years prior to this time, the honourable degree of B.A. As he rode over to Dedham, his mind was occupied with the thought that by perseverance he might within twelve months more become an M.A.; and then fancy painted all kinds of honours flowing upon him. On reaching Dedham, a stream of people pouring in one direction acquainted him with what he wanted to know — where Mr. Rogers was to lecture. On reaching the plain brick building known as the "meeting-house," he dismounted and tethered his horse, as many others had done, to one of the trees in the neighbourhood. Look at the young student as he pressed forward into the meeting-house, and took his place upon a low form amongst the worshippers. Pews had not been invented in those days, nor had "backed-stools" even been

introduced into Puritan places of worship. His garb bespoke him a student, but that also could have been surmised from his pale thoughtful face, his earnest, penetrating, and inquiring look. He was still small, much below the average height of a young man of nineteen; but though of slight frame, he carried a massive head upon his shoulders, —as though nature had made up in head for what she had withheld in bodily frame. For all we know of the sermon preached upon that occasion to a crowded congregation we are indebted to that youth, whose name was Thomas Goodwin. What he heard and saw then he never forgot. When an old man, he repeated to John Howe the words he had then heard, though sixty years had passed. The subject of the preacher's sermon was the study of the Holy Scriptures. In the course of his discourse he fell into an expostulation with the people about their neglect

of the Bible; and he personated God to the people, saying: "Well, I have trusted you so long with my Bible: you have slighted it; it lies in your houses all covered with dust and cobwebs, you care not to look into it. Do you use my Bible so? Well, you shall have my Bible no longer." Then the preacher took up the Bible from the cushion, and seemed as if he were going to carry it away from them. But immediately turning again, he personated the people to God. Falling down on his knees, he cried and pleaded most earnestly, saying: "Lord, whatsoever Thou dost to us, take not Thy Bible from us, —kill our children, burn our houses, destroy our goods—only spare us Thy Bible, take not away Thy Bible." Then he once more personated God to the people, saying: "Say you so? Well, I will try you a little while longer. Here is my Bible for you. I will see how you use it—whether you will love it

more, whether you will value it more, whether you will observe it more, whether you will practise it more, and live more according to it."

The effect produced by these impassioned words was very remarkable. All the people broke forth into crying, and for several moments nothing could be heard but cries and sobs and calls for mercy.

When the service was over, and Thomas Goodwin was about to take horse again, the effect of the sermon was still fresh upon him; he had not strength enough to mount, and, with the rein in his hand, he bowed his head upon the saddle and wept for a quarter of an hour.

Those are the kind of tears that hallow the human soul; and this is one of the grandest moments in the life of that great preacher—when he wept beside his horse.

Thomas Goodwin was the eldest son of

Richard and Catherine Goodwin, and was born at Rollesby, in the staunch old Puritan county of Norfolk. His father was a wealthy farmer, and they lived in circumstances of ease and comfort. Of the origin of the family there are several accounts extant, and the true one will probably never be known. One historian says the family name was Collingwood; another declares that the family were kinsfolk of Cromwell; while modern research furnishes a reasonable belief that they were descended from the great Earl Goodwin, whose son Harold was the last of the Saxon kings. Though these statements all vary, they concur in attributing the family origin to one of a very honourable character. But the chief honour that now rests upon the name is due to the genius of this youthful student, and this was not hereditary.

Those who delight to note coincidences

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The county was overrun with Puritans who had escaped, and were yearly escaping, from the persecutions of Roman Catholic powers on the Continent. These settled in Norfolk, and practised industries which up to their arrival had never been known in England; and they exhibited the best characteristics of settlers—they were peaceable and friendly with their neighbours, and so industrious as to absorb the services of hundreds of young English people. One thing they were stubborn and determined about was, not to be interfered with in the exercise of Puritan principles of worship.

A love of these principles spread rapidly throughout Norfolk, and Goodwin's parents shared with their foreign neighbours in a profession of Puritanism.

Although so little is known of Thomas Goodwin's parents, yet it is certain that from them he drew his earliest impressions of

sacred things, and that from childhood he was set apart for the work of the ministry. There is one reference to his home, preserved in notes for his memoir, written by his eldest son, which is especially interesting. When he lay dying, at the close of a long and active life, the aged preacher seemed to recall the days of earliest childhood, and calling his two sons to his bedside, he said to them, "My mother was a holy woman." No more touching testimony could be borne to a parent's love than was contained in those words. In them is disclosed all that we shall ever know of Mrs. Goodwin; but it is enough. The face of his mother smiled upon him in his dying moments; old age and childhood were linked together; and almost with his latest breath the old divine blessed God for the gift of a holy mother.

At his birth he was so delicate that his parents and friends, he says, marvelled that

he was spared. Probably the very fact of his delicacy gave direction to his life. He was too sickly a lad to join in the ordinary games of boys of his own age, and he became studious and thoughtful when quite a child. Before he entered upon his teens he was spoken of as a scholar. Such progress did he make at the village school, that when thirteen years old he passed the requisite examination qualifying him to enter the University of Cambridge as a student.

He was admitted to Christ's College in 1613, twelve months before the ordinary period at which boys were allowed to enter. For several years previously he had been subjected to spiritual influences, and was continually under deep concern about his soul; and these influences increased at college. There does not seem to have been any break in the course of his study. He was a conscientious student; and his physical weakness

prevented him from feeling any desire to join with others in the outdoor games or pastimes, which might otherwise have hindered his rapid advance. His whole time was devoted to study; and his success was as rapid as it was unprecedented. As his knowledge increased, so did his conscientious feelings; fears about his salvation would intrude themselves even into moments of study. Several years passed without his feeling at peace in his mind. Very soon after his entrance into the university he partook of the sacrament, as an aid to peace; but upon the second occasion when he presented himself for communion he was directed by his tutor to leave the church. This slight caused him intense mental anguish, and hindered his spiritual advancement. By slow degrees, however, light dawned upon his mind, and through hearing such preachers as Rogers of Dedham, he at last came clearly to the

comprehension of the work of grace upon his soul. But while these mental strugglings were going on, he also suffered much from a difficulty in deciding what style of preaching to adopt as his model. At first he was filled with a determination to acquire celebrity as a learned preacher, and he chose for his model the rhetorical Dr. Stenhouse; but his conversion altered his choice, and fixed it unchangeably.

The disputations as to Arminianism and Calvinism hardly concerned him then, although they raged hotly amongst the Fellows; and the day had not yet arrived when the requirements of Laud were to reduce every preacher to one common level of thought and style of preaching. Three years after he entered Christ's, Thomas Goodwin won his B.A. degree, to the astonishment of his tutor as well as of his fellow-students. He thus gave at the early age of sixteen signs of that strength

of intellect which in after years carried him through the most serious difficulties, and preserved him in the middle course, wherein, while doing great good to his fellows, he inspired no hatred from either party in the State. After he became B.A. he left Christ's College, for some cause not really known now, and joined, in 1619, Catharine Hall. Probably the reason for this change was a prospect of quicker advancement; and, if that was the object he had in view, he was right in his supposition, for one year after his settlement he not only attained the degree of M.A., but was elected a Fellow of the Hall. In this position he had four notable colleagues with whom he formed a friendship that lasted throughout their lives, and with whom in after years he cordially acted as members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Their names were John Arrowsmith, Andrew Perne, William Spurstow, and William Strong,

and all of them became celebrated Puritan ministers or writers.

Goodwin was now twenty years of age, and had not yet chosen a style of preaching. The sermon of Mr. Rogers had made a deep impression upon him; and now another preacher deepened still further the Puritan feeling that existed in his mind. He had accepted an invitation to spend an evening with the students of Christ's College, and walking with some of his friends in that direction, a bell suddenly began tolling for a funeral. He and his friends went into the church, and ascertained that the preacher would be Dr. Bambridge. They seated themselves to hear the sermon; but a strange feeling of reluctance at remaining crept over young Goodwin. He was not in a humour to hear the sermon, and yet he did not like to go out in the face of his friends. The sermon was not only remarkable for the feeling it contained, but for

the fervent Puritanism with which it glowed. Dr. Bambridge completed the work begun by Mr. Rogers. Yet Goodwin's friends do not appear to have been impressed with the sermon. They left the church together to go on their way to Christ's College; but as soon as Goodwin got into the street he declined to go any further, and returned to his college rooms. His friends remonstrated with him in vain; and though they despatched a messenger later in the evening to fetch him, he persisted in secluding himself for the remainder of the day. That sermon marked the turning-point in the life of Thomas Goodwin.

All the serious impressions of his life recurred to him with redoubled force, and he saw himself as he had never done before; and Christ was revealed to him clad in fresh attributes. The tedious paths by which he had tried to reach Christ were now seen to be so many ways from Him; and the only rela-

tion in which a man stands to God dawned upon him at last. Under the perplexing and varying emotions which such a revelation produced he remained for many days. He wanted guidance, but he knew no one in the university to whom he could disclose his feelings. Then the old home teaching came into his mind. Since he entered Cambridge his parents had removed from Rollesby to King's Lynn; and on a recent visit home he had heard the Puritan minister of that town, one Mr. Price.

Nothing is known of this good man except that he was consulted by Thomas Goodwin, and the illustrious student preserved with religious care the letters of advice he received in answer to his inquiries. His agitation was not a mere passing cloud; conviction settled upon his soul, and from that period he became a changed man. The style of the Puritan preachers now became his model; and while

at college even, he was celebrated for the persuasive character of his discourses. Young students thronged to hear him whenever he preached, and many openly professed to being converted under his sermons. It was his success as a preacher at this time that afterwards determined his acceptance of the mastership of Magdalen College, Oxford. Thenceforward Goodwin openly allied himself with the Puritan party of preachers in the university, and lived to become one of their most powerful representatives.

In 1625 Goodwin was licensed as a preacher to the university, and he signed the three articles required by the office: by the first he affirmed the King's supremacy in matters civil and ecclesiastical; by the second he declared the Book of Common Prayer to be in accord with the Word of God; and by the third he expressed his conviction of the scriptural authority of the Thirty-nine Articles.

Amongst those whose preaching he now favoured was that of Richard Sibbes, who had earned the title of "The Divine Sibbes," on account of the heavenly sweetness of all his writings. They became fast friends; and Goodwin strove hard upon one occasion to secure for Sibbes the appointment of Master of Katharine Hall, which post he obtained.

In 1628 Goodwin was appointed a lecturer to the university, and in 1630, when in his thirtieth year, he took the degree of B.D. His popularity was still on the increase, not only amongst the students but with the heads of the university; and in 1632 Charles I. conferred upon him the vicarage of Trinity Church. The bishop of the diocese, however, placed some difficulty in the way of Goodwin's appointment, and is said to have refused his sanction for some time unless Goodwin bound himself never to preach on a controverted

point of doctrine. Goodwin refused to consent to such a stipulation, but nevertheless got the appointment.

The course pursued by the bishop on that occasion served to indicate what was to be the future policy pursued, not in that diocese only, but throughout the whole of England. As soon as Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, he proceeded to take steps for securing the uniformity of religion throughout the kingdom. In order to secure his object, his Grace gave instructions to all the bishops to look sharply after the lecturers and preachers in the universities, and to report to him any deviation from the established rule of the Church, either in doctrine or in discipline.

What were the deviations complained of, in what manner discipline was applied, and how many suffered thereby, are facts not known; but one of the first to resent any interference

with the supremacy of conscience was Thomas Goodwin.

His position was so uncomfortable that he resigned his vicarage to Dr. Sibbes just one year after his appointment, and one year before his resignation of all offices at Cambridge.

Open dissent from the Church was then scarcely thought of, though separation from the Church was not unknown.

Here was a successful student, whose scholarship was fully ripe, whose principles were established, whose vocation as a preacher was acknowledged, brought face to face with one of these alternatives: either to preach according to rule, or to go forth without a benefice, and with no hope of any kind of employment within the pale of the Church of England. In making choice, conscience asserted her supremacy. There was but one thing that such a man could do: he resigned

the offices he held and left Cambridge for ever; he preferred freedom of conscience to the comfort brought by a profitable fellowship with fettered thought.

He was one of the first in Cambridge to suffer for his convictions; but in a few years many of his college friends were with him, sitting by his side in that great assembly which it was vainly hoped would find a way out of the religious difficulties that neither bishops, archbishops, parliaments, nor king could solve.

CHAPTER II.

1635—1638.

State of England—Struggle for Civil and Religious Liberty—Protestantism and Popery—Presbyterianism and Independency—The Book of Sports—James I.—Charles I.—Death of Strafford—Laud made Archbishop—Emigrants brought back—Goodwin in London; goes to Holland—Arnheim—John Robinson—Goodwin returns to London.

THE thirty-five years that elapsed from the birth of Thomas Goodwin to the date of his leaving Cambridge were years of infinite importance in the history of England; for they witnessed the birth of those forces which, before his collegiate course was ended, had introduced discord into the halls of learning in that famous university. Now that Goodwin is about to enter upon his active

career in the world, it is necessary to glance briefly over past events in the civil and religious world.

The glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth ended when Goodwin was a child of three years, and she bequeathed to her successor a heritage of difficulty which quickly spread from bad to worse, until the execution of a king was considered the only way out of the civil difficulties that had fastened upon the nation.

The Continent of Europe at this time was also deeply agitated by the struggling into life of a Protestant feeling—then known as a Reforming principle—which rivalled Popery in the hold it took upon the hearts and consciences of men. The time had come when it was declared that man was king of his own conscience. This claim was hotly contested by Rome; many kings and rulers, fancying their own positions at stake, drew

their swords to eradicate the heresy, and the result was an armed struggle which lasted for many years.

In England a similar desire for religious freedom was in existence, and with it there was growing up a wish for political freedom as well. On the Continent the struggle was for religious freedom only; in England the two freedoms were to be won by one series of battles.

James I. was of opinion that the settlement of the state of religion would be a good thing when it was done, but he was not the man to direct the course of events in such a struggle. He actually presided over a religious disputation with this object held at Hampton Court, but he found himself unable in the least degree to bring about so desirable a result. A corrected form of Common Prayer was adopted, which satisfied only a very small section of the religious community. Many English

Puritans, foreseeing a long struggle with the civil power, emigrated to Virginia; their example was followed for many succeeding years, and the nucleus was thus formed of what afterwards became the most glorious colony of England.

The Prince of Wales died in 1612, plunging the King into grief at a time when his heart must have been filled with perplexity about affairs of State.

The Scotch opposed Episcopal jurisdiction altogether, and after a time were successful in obtaining what they sought.

Three years after the death of his eldest son, James I. paid a visit to Cambridge, and looked for the first time upon the face of the brilliant and unscrupulous George Villiers; and from their acquaintance flowed a long stream of troubles upon both King and nation, until the wayward life of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was sacrificed by Felton's knife.

This visit of the King to Cambridge took place soon after Thomas Goodwin entered the university; and the glitter and bustle and ceremony must have made a deep impression on the boy-student's mind.

James finding that he could not force Episcopacy upon the Scotch, like a wise monarch abandoned the attempt; and then, to make the observance of the Sabbath more palatable to the English, published "The Book of Sports," for Sunday reading and Sunday practice. This, however, caused the first serious outbreak in England, for godly Puritan ministers refused to read the book from their pulpits as ordered.

At the same time on Parliament assembling, instead of voting supplies they prayed for the redress of a number of abuses, particularly the numerous monopolies which interfered with the regular course of trade. The King indignantly refused to redress the

grievances complained of, dismissed the Parliament, and imprisoned his leading opponents.

Before the quarrel was settled James I. died, and bequeathed his views with his crown to Charles I.

His accession was a matter of general congratulation. The trumpets sounded, the cannon were fired, and the people cried, "God save the King!"

But Charles I. was not exactly the sort of king the people wanted, after all. He was soon found to be rather more headstrong, wilful, and perverse than his royal father. He had been trained up in the belief of the divine right of kings to do as they pleased with Parliaments and with peoples. Charles I. imposed taxes without the consent of Parliament, and his judges imprisoned all brought before them charged with wilful non-payment. When a Parliament did meet,

fault was found with the Church for favouring Arminian doctrines; and the voice of a new member—one Oliver Cromwell—was heard, for the first time, declaring that the Church of England had been guilty of "flat Popery."

Matters were approaching a crisis day by day. Parties were rapidly forming. Some who were relied upon by the popular party went over to the King's side, and there was a great outcry raised. The most eminent of these was the Earl of Strafford, and before many years elapsed he paid the penalty of a recreant—with his head.

While the parties were preparing for the struggle Charles paid a brief attention to the state of the Church, and made Laud Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud at once commenced his work—the reduction of all preachers and teachers to one common level of thought, doctrine, and practice.

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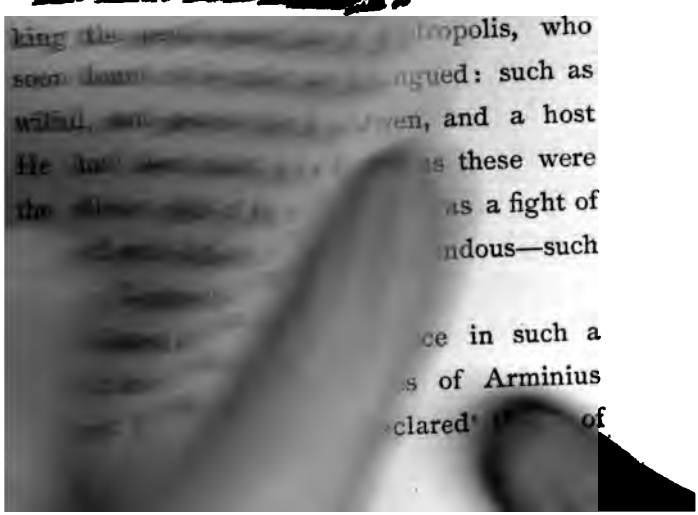

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England, or whether they were to find expression through a form of Episcopacy or Presbyterianism; the battle was for a far nobler object—it was for nothing less than civil and religious liberty, without which no nation can achieve manhood.

Civil liberty came all the sooner from being of less comparative value than religious liberty; but it is of religious liberty, and of the contribution of one man to that victory, which this book has to tell.

There is evidence to prove that before Thomas Goodwin left Cambridge his attention had been directed to the question of the existing mode of divine worship; in the course of his study he had consulted, orally or by letter, the leaders of Puritan thought in England and upon the Continent; and after the departure of Mr. John Cotton to Boston, New England, they maintained a correspondence with each other. In Holland

Goodwin had many friends; several that he had known in England, escaping from the annoyances and interferences to which they had been subjected, being settled in different parts of that country.

He must have been acquainted with that great Puritan divine, John Robinson, who saw the Pilgrim Fathers start on their perilous voyage from Delft Haven, carrying with them not only his scheme for the practice of divine worship, but a plan for the moulding of a commonwealth—one destined to become the grandest that the world had ever seen.

On his arrival in London, Goodwin found that the Puritan feeling had taken deep hold upon the affections of the people. The pastors of many of the churches were careless and inattentive in the performance of their duties, and men of evil lives. Little Puritan meetings were being held in every parish of

the City, and the Word of God was being preached by men uneducated, save for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon them. The services of such a man were therefore eagerly sought after, and crowds attended upon his preaching. The freedom of religious thought grew stronger and more extended from week to week; and the course of action taken by Archbishop Laud and the bishops only served to make the people more afraid of the clergy, and more fond of the Puritan preachers.

The London of this period was London before the Great Fire—a city very different from what it has ever been since. Almost the entire city was built of timber, churches included; and where one or two stone churches stood, they were surmounted by tall wooden spires. The streets were so narrow that persons in windows on opposite sides of the streets could almost

shake hands. There were no neatly paved streets and no sewers; there was no division of side-path from roadway, and walking and riding were equally matters of danger and inconvenience. Very few streets were wide enough for vehicles to pass one another; and running brooks, wherever they existed, coursed along the streets to the river. The huge timbered fronts of the houses hung in threatening attitudes over the streets; windows extended the whole length of each house, and the fronts were composed of small pieces of wood carved with figures set in between rows of bricks. In many cases the huge front rested upon timber posts in the street, the open portion below being used for shops; and the front would terminate in a gigantic gable, the centre of the triangle being an open window, for lowering or raising goods from below. In cases of fire, ropes were fastened round the

timber posts in the streets, and the house was pulled to the ground by main force. The houses in the little streets running down to the Thames were famous places for conventicles, the great timber rooms affording ample space for a good congregation; and it was in one of these streets, running into Lower Thames Street, that Goodwin preached to his first "gathered church."

The people also were as strange in dress as modern streets are compared with what they were. The sober grey of the Puritan was rapidly growing in favour with both sexes. For a man, the steeple hat, with white collar, short cloak, knee-breeches, silk stockings, and shoes with bows, was the outward mark of a Puritan; while for a cavalier the broad hat was ornamented with a feather, the vest was adorned with ribbons, the sleeves were slashed, the trunks were trussed, and the silk stockings

were almost entirely hidden by high jack-boots.

In what particular meeting-houses Goodwin preached, or what kind of reception he met with amongst the citizens of London, it is impossible now to tell. The meeting-houses were just what their name implied—houses belonging to poor people, in which friends of the same mind met together to hear the Word of God preached and to pray. There is no doubt that the people met secretly at this time, and that their gatherings were known to the bishops and clergy, who tried in vain to stop the constant efflux from the churches.

The citizens favoured the new preachers. They had no cause to love the existing state of things. The King was interfering with the trade of the City; he was granting monopolies in every article of merchandise or manufacture out of which he could raise

money; and he was levying taxes without the consent of Parliament.

The impost of ship-money was the newest grievance, and the severity of the Star Chamber was also denounced by the citizens. William Prynne, the editor of "News from Ipswich," had been fined by the Star Chamber, pilloried, and branded. The printers of the same journal, Lilburne and Wharton, were imprisoned in the Fleet; and "Free-born John," as Lilburne was called, had been whipped from the Fleet to the pillory at Westminster; and was then gagged as he stood in the stocks, because he protested that the bishops would not do good work in the kingdom.

The stream of emigration from the country gave alarm to the King, and eight vessels about to sail out of the Thames were ordered to be stopped. The order was obeyed; and, amongst others, Hampden, Pym, and

Oliver Cromwell were brought out of the ships and set ashore.

O short-sighted King! O far-seeing Providence, that gave back to their country those three famous patriots!

Three years were spent by Goodwin in fugitive preaching about London, in conferences upon religious matters with ministers, and in correspondence with Puritans in Holland and in New England.

During those years his preaching powers were developed to such an extent, that his name was spoken of in all circles of the City as a man of genius, and one likely to do good service to the State.

After the lapse of three years he married Elizabeth, daughter of Alderman Prescot, of the City of London. The story of his love and courtship is summed up in that simple announcement; and from him nothing is heard in after years of this his first

wife. It must have been a happy marriage or we should have heard differently. Alderman Prescot, by the very title he bore, must have been a man of influence in the City, and there is no doubt that he favoured the Puritan party.

Possibly in some one of his private preachings his first wife met him, and the knowledge of his circumstances may have bred, first, concern for him, and then sympathy and love. Or he may have carried with him on leaving Cambridge letters of introduction to influential men in London; and Alderman Prescot being one of these, with several marriageable daughters on hand, nothing was more natural than that he should fall in love with and afterwards marry one of them. With regard to this lady, his eldest son by a subsequent wife says: "My father was very happy in a woman of such sweet temper, lively wit, and sincere piety, as endeared her to all that knew her."

They were destined, however, to have but little quiet enjoyment throughout the whole of their married life. For several months about the time of their marriage the prosecutions of Puritan ministers had grown so severe, that one of three alternatives only appeared open—either to submit to the dictates of the Church, suffer fines and imprisonments for violating the directions of the Church, or fly to a more favoured country.

There were many reasons pointing to the last alternative, and to the selection of Holland as the future place of residence.

Goodwin had many friends there, whose acquaintance he had formed at college. There were many English families also residing there, and he could easily obtain an English congregation. Further, he could prosecute his studies there upon one important point—the best form of ecclesiastical government. There was another reason which must have

weighed with him on account of his newly-married wife: if a change for the better should take place in English political life, he would not be far off, and could easily return.

At that period there was more liberty to be enjoyed in Holland than in any other kingdom of Europe; and New England was too far off to be chosen as a place of residence.

For many years English people had been emigrating to Holland, and in every one of their principal cities and towns there were little settlements of English.

It must have been a severe trial to Mrs. Goodwin to be called, so soon after her marriage, to leave her native city and the advantages of home for a foreign land; but she was as brave as her husband, and welcomed even expatriation when it was clearly shown to be the will of God.

In a book entitled "Lives of the Chief

Fathers of New England," it is stated that Goodwin lay in a ship in the Thames for several hours wind-bound, every moment expecting to be made prisoner by a pursuivant. Distressed as he was for a propitious gale, he yet cried to the Lord, "If Thou hast at this time any poor servant of Thine who wants this wind more than I do now, I do not ask for the changing of it. I submit unto it." The wind soon afterwards changed, and carried him beyond the reach of his pursuers.

The passage across was not the pleasant voyage that a steamer now makes it. The vessels that traded between England and Holland were only lugger-boats—heavy sailers, with scant accommodation for passengers.

Brill was then the usual place of landing, and further progress into the country was made by canal.

As soon as Mr. and Mrs. Goodwin landed

they pushed on to Amsterdam, where there was a large English settlement, and there they were very warmly received by the members of the church and the ministers.

The magistrates of the city had embraced Protestantism in 1578, and from that year down to the present time Puritan services had been held in a large church which was first taken from the Roman Catholic Beguines, or Little Sisters of the Poor.

On several occasions when searching the English records in the Dutch churches, we were allowed to turn over the papers in this church.*

* Although Protestant services are now held in the church, the courtyard in which the building stands is occupied by the Beguines, and they retain an interest in the vaults below the church for burial purposes. When a Beguine dies, twelve of her sisters carry her corpse three times round the courtyard, chanting, and then place the coffin in the vault. The poor sisters talk with confidence even yet of the approaching day when the church will be once more purified from its defilement and restored to the Church of Rome.

In Amsterdam Goodwin met Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughes, William Bridge, and Sydrach Simpson, who had all been driven out of England by the intolerance of Archbishop Laud; and all of them, after a short pastorate in Holland, returned to London and took an active part in the events that occurred during the Protectorate.

References to these events and others are still to be found in the church books in Holland, and many entries show that a close connection was maintained between the Puritans of England and those of Holland during the latter portion of the reign of Charles I.

After staying for a short time at Rotterdam, it was arranged that the brethren should each seek a different church, or that they should get joint pastorates in different parts of Holland. But it was settled that they should maintain correspondence with each other on

important questions of church discipline, and watch the course of Puritanism in England, while they also should devote some attention to the formation and carrying on of their own settled congregations.

William Bridge was selected to go to Rotterdam as joint pastor with Mr. Ward, and Goodwin made choice of Arnheim, where he was to join Philip Nye in the pastorate of the church.

This was a very happy settlement for Goodwin, and during the two years that the arrangement lasted he and Nye lived on the most perfect terms of harmony, and the peace of the church was not broken by one untoward act. The two ministers worked most amicably together both in public and in private.

Several years after their return to England they published, as one result of their joint labour, a statement of their views on ecclesiastical government.

Arnheim is a very pleasant little city to visit. It is the capital of the province of Guelderland, and for centuries has been strongly fortified. The ancient ramparts, now grass-grown, and the moats, filled with sleepy water and rushes, afford a curious study to the modern traveller. It is the very city that a student would make choice of in which to pursue any special investigation, and nothing could have been more appropriate than the selection of such a place for the study of a difficult religious question.

Within easy journey lived John Robinson, the lawgiver to the commonwealth of New England, and Goodwin and Nye must have frequently discussed with him those questions which they made a study of in Holland, and on which their conclusions were identical with those expressed years before by Robinson himself.

What a pleasant thing it must have been

to Goodwin to talk face to face with the man who had trained the Pilgrim Fathers in his church, and who had looked into the countenances of the Pilgrims themselves, before their departure in the *Mayflower* from Delft Haven.

Goodwin's little congregation of one hundred, all told, could not have absorbed the whole attention of himself and Nye; and, besides time for study, they must have had plenty of time to spare for their wives.

It was in Arnheim that Mistress Goodwin gave birth to her only daughter, who was christened Elizabeth, after her mother.

In after years, when they had returned to London, and Goodwin became absorbed in the affairs of State, his wife probably often sighed for the attentions she received when in Arnheim, and for the happy days they had when little Elizabeth was born.

The news from England at this time was

not encouraging. Prosecutions of religious men were rife. Charles was determined to suppress both civil and religious liberty, little thinking what he had undertaken.

All men who loved their country, and all Puritans who loved freedom of religious thought and worship, united together to oppose the usurpations of the King.

While this conflict was at its height, the peace of the Puritan congregation at Rotterdam was disturbed. The two ministers, Messrs. Bridge and Ward, quarrelled amongst themselves, and divided the congregation with them.

Some members of the church had become infected with the spirit of prophecy, and other utterances were in their esteem only pretended. One minister considered all spiritual manifestations were the work of God, and the other put them down to the influence of the devil. The contention became so hot,

that the good offices of Goodwin and Nye were solicited to bring about peace; and the two faithful ministers travelled from Arnheim to Rotterdam to inquire into the cause of the disturbance, and to settle it if possible.*

Goodwin and Nye composed the differences that had arisen, and restored peace.

Two years elapsed, and the work of Goodwin appeared to him to be finished in Holland.

In England the Long Parliament had assembled. It impeached Archbishop Laud and, at the same time, they sent throughout the world an invitation to all those who had left England on account of Nonconformity to return home. Goodwin and

* That must have been a strange church at Rotterdam. The church books now contain many curious entries. One relates to a charge made at a church meeting against two women for using the Bible with a key in it, with some conjuring words, "By St. Peter and St. Paul," &c., for discovering a thief who had stolen a petticoat out of one of their houses.

Nye, and several others in Holland, settled their congregations and returned at once to London.

Philip Nye received an appointment at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, but Goodwin had work of a different character to perform in the City and in the State.

CHAPTER III.

1640—1644.

Politics and Religion—National Grievances—Scotch Invasion—The Long Parliament—Concessions by the King—Execution of Strafford—Parliamentary Remonstrances—The King's Indiscretion—Parliament at drawn swords with Charles I.—Goodwin in the City—Anchor Lane Meeting-house—A Spy's Letter—Monthly Fasts—Goodwin preaches before Parliament—The Assembly of Divines—Cotton's Book.

UPON Goodwin's return to England at the invitation of the Long Parliament, he found plenty of work to do. The City was at that time in a state of great disorder so far as political parties were concerned, and its religious condition was much disordered also. But the dangers that threatened trade and commerce, and the internal government

of the nation, prevented much attention being paid to the irregularities that prevailed in the churches, and the lives led by many ministers of the Church of England.

The nation was filled with grievances, the levying of taxation without the consent of Parliament and the trials of the Star Chamber being the principal. As soon as Parliament met, it insisted upon the complaints of the nation being heard before voting any supplies. This was a great grievance to the King. His Majesty only wanted money; the affairs of the kingdom might follow. Then when Parliament entered upon the discussion of unpleasant topics, the King would dismiss the members.

The Parliament which assembled in 1640 had fared no better than several of its predecessors, and was dissolved in May. The Scotch taking advantage of their opportunity, entered England in force, and fought their way

south in order to get their grievances aired. Charles was roused from his lethargy by the threatening aspect of affairs. As the Scotch advanced and towns were occupied by them, the King in alarm summoned another Parliament—the most remarkable one that ever met in England. This was the Long Parliament, which first assembled on November 3rd. It set to work in real earnest, for within nine days it impeached the Earl of Strafford, and set Prynne and other victims of the Star Chamber at liberty. These Star Chamber prisoners were received on entering the City with the honours paid to royalty. It next dealt with ship money, which was voted illegal; the judgments against Hampden were reversed; and in little more than one month from the day of Parliament assembling, it impeached Archbishop Laud, whose discipline had been most disastrous for the religious peace of

the nation. The industry of Parliament was amazing; and the King, warned by what was taking place, made up his mind to adopt more conciliatory measures for a time.

The temper of the nation was roused, and Parliament was destined to do more startling things still. The King in vain endeavoured to counteract its policy, and the Parliament was destined to suffer purge after purge before they would be made ripe for the handling of one Oliver Cromwell, whose name was not known beyond the limits of his own county, and through one or two speeches amongst Parliament men.

The King appointed Pym Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Hampden was made tutor to the Prince of Wales. Triennial Parliaments were conceded; and then Parliament granted the King some subsidies. This was all done before May, 1641. The King was

powerless in the hands of the Parliament: he could not even save his friend, Lord Strafford, whose head rolled upon the scaffold upon May 12th, as a warning to all those who were inclined to put their trust in such selfish princes as Charles was. The King went to Scotland, Hampden accompanying him to see that he got into no fresh mischief; and a committee of the House of Commons sat in London to watch events.

At this time news came from Ireland of a shocking insurrection there, and of the massacre of a number of English. This outrage was avenged before many years had passed by one who had not yet drawn his sword in battle.

In autumn Parliament reassembled. Fresh remonstrances were presented to the King, and local disturbances occurred. The state of the two cities of London and Westminster was far from satisfactory. Then first came

into existence that nickname for a growing party in the State by which they have ever since been known—the Roundheads or Reforming party, in contradistinction to the Cavaliers, who were of the King's party.

The King suddenly became aware that many of his cherished prerogatives were slipping away from his grasp, and he roused himself, determined to show his kingly power.

He first attempted to seize some of his leading enemies, as he esteemed them, but they escaped; and the King, overwhelmed by the magnitude of what he had attempted, but failed to accomplish, fled precipitately from London.

One domestic incident occurred to cheer his heart, and that was the marriage of his daughter Mary to the Prince of Orange.

Then Parliament and the King prepared for war. There was at first much hasty marching to and fro, and the seizing of certain

strategic points by the King or Parliament: for both sides were desperately in earnest.

During the two years that had thus elapsed, Goodwin had been preaching in every district of London in meeting-houses that were rapidly growing up, and also in many of the stately City churches, for the line separating Puritan from clergyman had not at that time been tightly drawn. The congregations that he preached to were invariably large, for at a time of great civil and religious excitement the people were most anxious to hear the opinions on both sides. A struggle was going on fraught with consequences of immense importance to the whole nation; and it was commonly acknowledged that religious liberty could not exist unless political liberty were also secured. The two were inseparably bound up with each other; and there was a terrible earnestness about the new Puritan preachers, which

proved to the people that they were to be trusted. Many of the meeting-houses that were then erected simply consisted of four bare walls and a roof; and to escape the notice of troublesome people they were sometimes surrounded with moats and entered by draw-bridges, like those moated granges of which the nation heard a great deal during the civil war.

There was one famous meeting-house in Anchor Lane, Lower Thames Street, in which, probably, Thomas Goodwin first gathered a congregation, and preached to them for about ten years, from which they emigrated in after years to Lime Street; and as the necessity arose in subsequent years, they moved from place to place, but always keeping within the radius of the City, until the present day, when the church and congregation have found a final resting-place within the beautiful walls of the City Temple.

Anchor Lane was a narrow thoroughfare in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, running down to the river. It was in the extreme east end of the City, quite near to the Tower, and was eminently suited for the establishment of a conventicle by reason of the secrecy that might be secured and the denseness of the population.

At first the meeting-house was probably nothing better than an ordinary dwelling-house with the floors taken out, and the pulpit stuck up in one corner. But the congregation increased so rapidly that house was added to house, the dividing walls taken out, and the people worshipping within the bare walls and under a timber roof very dissimilar to those of modern days. One room was reserved in a corner of the floor for a vestry, and the furniture consisted of a number of forms and a double pulpit.

A spy who was in the habit of visiting this

meeting-house has left us a description of the pulpit, and a few notes as to the preacher, which are not without interest:* "There are two pulpits put up together for prophesying," he wrote. The puzzle as to two pulpits will be explained by the shape of the pulpit in an old-fashioned country church, in which the parson occupies the pulpit and the clerk a reading-desk below. Then another spy gives us a few particulars about Goodwin himself. No doubt in personal appearance he was much stouter than when at Cambridge, and carried himself with some degree of stateliness, as a man would who knows that he is of some consequence in the world.† "Goodwin," says the spy, "is a person, as busy a clergyman as I knew formerly, and although he now stumbles and scruples at the surplice and Book of Common Prayer, yet in his pros-

* State Papers, Dom. Ch. II., Sept. 1661-2.

† Ibid., 1662.

perity he would dispense with a velvet cassock down to his knees; and yet," said he, "they were very glad to dispense in their gathered churches to embrace an appointment with £500, or £600, or £700 a-year. Moreover," says the spy, "he grew high-minded, and made people stand at a great distance from him. I have seen and been witness that some persons of honour in good fashion have been glad to wait upon him in much patience." This picture represents Goodwin at this period of his life, although it was drawn at a later date. What a capital proof of the high-mindedness of the preacher, keeping "persons of honour" and "of good fashion" waiting at the vestry door before they are allowed to give him a grasp of the hand and wish him "God speed!"

In the same letter the spy bears testimony to the love borne by the people to their minister in those days. He says the preachers

"are the idols of the gathered churches, and have a great influence amongst them." Of the events connected with the church and congregation at that time, not a word has been preserved. The church books are lost, and not a scrap remains; but from other sources we have recovered the names of two members of the congregation: one was Colonel Whalley, who became a celebrated Cromwellian soldier; and a woman named Grimes, whose husband was probably living at that time, and with his wife a hearer of Goodwin. The time was coming when the widow would render help to her pastor in his hour of need.

The position that Goodwin took as a Puritan preacher in London was one of undoubted importance. His success as a student had preceded him, and ensured for him a warm reception from his fellow-ministers. His conduct in Holland had served to test his ability and skill as a minister, for he had not only

acquitted himself well but honourably. His marriage relations no doubt did something to bring his name and reputation before the City, and all the leading men in London were earnestly favouring that Puritanism of which Goodwin was so excellent and eloquent an exponent.

But his work in London did not end with the labours entailed by one pastorate. He preached and lectured repeatedly during the days of the week, and held frequent conferences with his brother ministers in the City, for there were many points of discipline and of profession upon which differences of opinion prevailed. Goodwin came to London armed with resolutions formed upon the Puritan models, strengthened by conferences with such men as John Robinson and John Cotton; and every ship that came to the Thames from New England brought letters to him, from his friend John Cotton,

in Boston, discussing points of religious doctrine.

There is no record of Goodwin's preaching in the City churches at this time, though there is no doubt that he was constantly employed in so doing. In those years the Puritan feeling was growing rapidly, and much good was done by preaching in the Established churches before the archbishops had frightened the new preachers into silence.

In the Long Parliament there was also a very strong Puritan feeling, and it led to the establishment of regular fast days, which were first observed in the cities of London and Westminster and by both Houses of Parliament, and afterwards by the whole nation. And no nation was ever more in need of humiliation and prayer, and of the guidance of God, than were the unhappy people of these realms at that time.

A monthly fast day came to be regularly

observed. The service was usually held in Margaret's Church, as the Puritans called it, or St. Margaret's, as the Cavaliers said, which is just outside Westminster Abbey; and there the members of both Houses of Parliament assembled on the fast day, while two preachers delivered sermons before them, the whole service lasting many hours. It was the custom on these occasions to name the preachers beforehand in the House of Commons, and then a certain member was directed to acquaint the preacher with the wish of the House.

Goodwin was a frequent preacher before the House, sometimes in St. Margaret's Church, twice in Westminster Abbey, upon one occasion in St. Paul's Cathedral, and once in Christ Church.

The first time that his name appears upon the journals of the House is under date April 12th, 1642, when he and Mr. Caryl were

selected to preach before the House of Commons at the following fast. The day chosen was the 27th of April, and the service began at an early hour in the morning. At that period the King had fled from London; the Parliament had seized several important posts, such as the Tower, Portsmouth, and Hull; Charles was trying to levy taxes by proclamation; and that civil war had commenced which was to end most disastrously for the King. The chief topic in Parliament was calling out of the militia forces; the discussion was fixed for that very fast day; but before going into the question the members spared a few hours to go to hear the preachers at St. Margaret's.

A crowd always assembled to see the members going to church, and the churchyard was kept by lines of armed men—soldiers with pot helmets, armed with matchlocks or pikes, and wearing the new "snap-sack" on their backs;

—soldiers who gave a wonderful account of the Cavaliers in subsequent battles. Amongst the members of Parliament there was a strange mixture of Cavalier and Roundhead. Some were dressed in the picturesque but rather fantastic garb of Charles's friends, while others wore the more sober garments of the Puritan. But the days of friendly alliance were numbered then, and very soon the House was purged from all but Puritans and Presbyterians.

The portraits of Goodwin represent him as wearing at this time very long dark hair, which, parted in the centre, flowed down upon the snowy white collar that every Puritan wore upon his shoulders. His features were regular, and his look bold and animated. His beard was moderately long, and shaped like that seen in the portraits of Charles I.

This was a momentous time for him to

stand up and preach before the House of Commons.

There was another sermon preached not long afterwards, for which, when Charles II. came to the throne, he hung the preacher.

But Goodwin was a more able and more cautious preacher, and took a wider view of questions with which he had to deal.

He chose for his text Zechariah iv. 6—9. When the sermon was afterwards printed, he called it "Zerrubabel's encouragement to finish the Temple;" and he thus set forth the purport of his sermon, which will be more convenient to quote than to analyse the sermon itself:—

"Your command giving me the opportunity, I took the boldness to urge and encourage you to Church Reformation [this is the main scope of this sermon], a subject which otherwise [and in all other auditories] I have been silent in, and am no whit sorry for it; for I

count it the most fit and happy season to utter things of this nature unto Authority itself [although the people likewise are to know their duty]. My comfort is that what I have spoken herein, I have [for the general] [and I have spoken but generalls] long believed, and have therefore spoken. You were pleased so far to own me, as to betrust me with this service, to be God's mouth in public unto you; and also this sermon of mine, as to commend the publishing of it. Wherefore as in propriety it is now become yours, more than mine, or all the world's: so let it be in the use of it. If it shall add the least strengthening to your resolutions, to keep this purpose for ever in the thoughts of your hearts, I have what I aimed at. Go on [worthy Fathers and Elders of this people] and prosper in [yea, by] this work, without which nothing that you do will prosper. But the rest I shall speak to God for you. Let me be known to you by no

other thing than this, to be one, whose greatest desires and constant prayers are, and have been, and utmost endeavours [in my sphere] shall be, for the making up of the divisions of the Church in these distracted times with love of Truth and Peace."

It was one of those wise addresses which left the sole responsibility of action with the members of the House themselves.

The House resumed its sitting after the sermon; and the following resolution, which was passed on every occasion of a sermon preached by desire, will serve as a sample of all, and render the repetition of the form unnecessary.

"Mr. Arthur Goodwyn and Sir Symonds D'Ewes are appointed to return thanks to Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Caryll, for the great pains they took in their Sermons they this Day preached in St. Margaret's, Westminster, at the Intreaty of the House of Commons; and

likewise to desire them, from the House, to print their Sermons. And it is further ordered, That none shall presume to print them for the space of Two Months, but such as they shall appoint."

Possibly it was this very sermon which led the House of Commons soon afterwards to take into serious consideration the best method of dealing with the important but vexed question of settling the religious faith of the kingdom.

At that time it was thought that the House of Commons was altogether given over to Presbyterian ways, but the leaders of the army and officers chiefly drawn from the country were thoroughly opposed to Presbyterianism as a settled form of government for the nation, and they favoured Independency. Scotland had shown herself thoroughly opposed to Episcopacy. In this dilemma an assembly of the leaders of religious thought from all parts

of the kingdom was resolved upon. There were several discussions on this question before a final decision was arrived at. The assembly was to decide upon a common form of worship and a code of religious belief. Parliament was deluded into believing that they could accomplish that which no parliament and no king had ever before been able to effect. By the same ordinance which directed the Assembly of the Divines at Westminster, Goodwin was appointed one of its members; and this fact will furnish a very good idea of the estimation in which he was held at that time by Parliament.

On August 14th, 1640, Goodwin was appointed by the Council of State one of seven to have charge of all papers belonging to the Assembly.*

* The same day that this appointment was made the Council passed the following resolution :—"Resolved that the statue of Charles I. standing at the Exchange, which was defaced by taking off the head and breaking the sceptre, should be wholly

How the Assembly of Divines lingered on for six years, and did little or nothing, hardly comes within the scope of discussion here.

Immediately upon the appointment of this assembly, Charles I. issued a proclamation forbidding its meetings. This fact leads to another which is worth recording, because it shows how rapidly Goodwin came to be considered one of the leaders of the Puritan Independent party. Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the historian of the Commonwealth, mentions that in January, 1644, "one Ogle, on the part of the King, wrote to Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Nye, of the Independent

taken down, and the inscription formerly ordered to be written in room of the statue. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen to see this done." By reference to the Minutes of the Council, dated July 31, 1650, the inscription was to be as follows :—"Exit tyrannus Regum ultimus, anno primo restitutæ libertatis Angliæ 1648."

judgment, to make great promises to them if they would oppose the Presbyterian form of government intended by the Scots to be imposed upon England, and much to that purpose."

This is a rather singular statement, because Goodwin had always opposed the Presbyterian form of worship; and this must have been known as one of his chief characteristics, nor was the King likely to be misinformed upon that subject.

The great chronicler goes on to say "that these two (Goodwin and Nye) being persons of great judgment and parts, acquainted their friends herewith, and were authorised to continue a correspondence with Ogle, who gained no ground with them." The second sentence throws still greater suspicion upon the whole passage, because Goodwin was not the man to carry on a correspondence with one whose propositions he was not going to consider, for

the sole purpose of entrapping him into a disclosure. Possibly the truth was that the King was pleased to signify his approval to Goodwin and Nye in some roundabout way of the attitude they were taking as Independents, and nothing more. At the same time, it shows that Goodwin was not the man of such little influence as his detractors would have people believe. In the very heat of the dispute between King and Parliament, and between the several branches of the Christian Church in England, he was a man of such influence as to have his aid and countenance solicited by several parties.

While the civil war was still raging, with the labours of his own church and congregation upon his shoulders, as well as those of the Assembly of Divines, Goodwin found time to do a graceful act for his friend, Mr. John Cotton, of Boston. Cotton had committed to the risks of a long sea voyage copies of some

of his works, the value of which those at home had given practical proof of on several previous occasions. The new MS. was called "The Seven Keys of the Kingdom," and the pamphlet was a very learned and able exposition of the scriptural power held by ministers leading to the knowledge of the kingdom of God, and admission thereto. As soon as it was received, Goodwin called Nye to his aid to edit it; and as it received their warm appreciation, they took the opportunity afforded by the publication of the pamphlet to introduce, in the form of a preface, a brief statement of their own views with regard to church government; and upon examination it appeared that they were in entire accord with the Church in New England.

CHAPTER IV.

1644—1648.

Goodwin preaches in Westminster Abbey—Civil War—Execution of Laud and others—Goodwin preaches to the Parliament—Naseby—Charles I. a Prisoner—A Third Sermon from Goodwin—The Army and the Parliament—Goodwin preaches a fourth time—Death of Mrs. Goodwin—Trial and Execution of Charles I.—House of Lords abolished—Noblemen executed—Cromwell suppresses an Insurrection—Goodwin preaches in the City—Cromwell in Ireland.

EDITING and publishing Cotton's "Keys of the Kingdom" by no means exhausted the work Goodwin did in the year 1644. There is a record of his having preached a sermon on July 31st of that year, in Westminster Abbey. During the month of July many battles were fought between the King's forces and the Parliamentary army in different parts of

England, chief amongst them being one on Marston Moor, in which the victory was mainly due to the skill of Oliver Cromwell.

As a rule the fast days were observed at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster; and why some sermons were preached in the Abbey has not been made clear. But there can be no doubt of the fact, for Goodwin's name appears in the rolls of the Abbey. From them we learn that he preached in the forenoon of the day, and that ten shillings was paid him for his sermon. Although the precise circumstances under which this was preached are now unknown—not even the text being known—yet it is a pleasant reflection, and one which must not be lightly esteemed, that Goodwin did stand up within the precincts of that venerable building and preach a sermon. In the procession of grave and learned men who have in ages gone by occupied that pulpit, whose voices have preached salvation

through Jesus Christ within those ancient walls, there was one in whom we are specially interested. Nothing about that service is known now. Whatever may have been the occasion that took him thither, whatever kind of congregation was gathered there to hear him—whether they were Parliament men or plain citizens—we may be sure that the sermon they heard was of peace and love, and sweet rest in Christ our Lord. The congregation and the minister have all passed away and the memory of the meeting alone remains, but that is enough to make us proud of our founder.

The Parliament held on their course throughout 1644 with wonderful persistency.

Archbishop Laud, who was acquitted by the Peers, was convicted of high treason by the Commons. Cromwell, in order to purge himself from all possibility of corruption, induced the House to pass the self-

denying ordinance. The year ran out without any chance of peace appearing, but a section still had hope of negotiating to that end.

The new year was soon baptized with blood. Sir John Hotham and his son were beheaded on January 2nd, and eight days afterwards Archbishop Laud's head rolled upon the scaffold.

Negotiations for peace were going on with the King at the time, but on February 24th they were suddenly broken off.

The very next day had been set apart as a day of public humiliation, and Thomas Goodwin was one of the selected preachers.

The Journals of the House of Commons show that February 25th was chosen as fast day on January 28th, and the preachers were selected the same day; and it therefore fell out quite inadvertently that the negotiations with the King should be broken off before the appointed fast day.

No doubt the unhappy news was known in London on the morning of the fast day, and that a good deal of excitement was thereby created. Probably it was thought requisite to have an extra number of armed men—men with pikes and muskets—on duty that morning to keep the pathway along which the members of Parliament walked to St. Margaret's Church, and to guard the church during the service. It is possible that even during Goodwin's sermon that morning an expectation of what might be the ultimate result of the King's conduct was present to some minds. But the patience of the nation and the Parliament men was not then exhausted. The subject of the sermon was God's care of his chosen people; and the text was taken from Psalm cv. 14, 15: "He suffered no man to do them wrong: yea, He reproved kings for their sakes; saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." No

copy of the sermon is now in existence, but the subject may be conjectured from the text. Amid all their disappointments and sufferings, they were to have faith in God, who would lead them. And how solemn must have been the passage wherein he set forth how God reproved kings for the sake of his people! As contrasted with other discourses preached about the same time, Goodwin's sermon was full of peace, of hope, and forbearance.

Between February and September the country was ravaged with the horrors of civil war. The battle of Naseby was fought and lost by the King. The Earl of Montrose took up arms for him in Scotland, but was soon compelled to fly from the country. Fairfax and Cromwell marched up and down several counties, putting down all opposition to the Parliament; and at length, in May, 1646, the King surrendered himself a prisoner to the Scotch.

Then a pause in the progress of events took place, in order that a day of public thanksgiving should be held; and this is what the Journals of the House of Commons* say about it:—

"DIE MARTIS—*25th August*, 1646.

"Ordered, That Tuesday, being the 8th day of September now next coming, be set apart for a day of Publick Thanksgiving within the Cities of London and Westminster, Lines of Communication, and Weekly Bills of Mortality, and ten miles about, for the great blessing of God upon the Forces of the Parliament, in the reducing of the several Castles and Garrisons of Worcester, Wallingford, Ruthen, Ragland, and Pendennis; and that the Lord Mayor of the City of London do take care, that the Ministers of the Several Churches and Chapels within the cities of London . . . . . , and

* Page 652.

liberties thereof may have timely notice hereof.

"The Lords' concurrence to be desired herein.

"Ordered, That Tuesday, being the 22nd day of September now next coming, be set apart for a day of Publick Thanksgiving, to be observed and kept in all churches and chapels in the several counties, cities, and places in the Kingdom of England, above ten miles distant from the City of London, for the great mercy of God to the Forces of Parliament, in the reducing of the several Garrisons and Castles of Worcester, Wallingford, Ruthen, Ragland, and Pendennis; and that the Members of this House that serve for the several Counties, Cities, and Places do take care, that timely notice hereof may be given to the respective ministers within the places aforesaid.

"The Lords' concurrence to be desired herein.

"Ordered, That Mr. Holles do, from this House, desire Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick to preach before the House of Commons, at the parish church of Margaret's, Westminster, on the Publick Day of Thanksgiving, being Tuesday, the 8th of September now next coming.

"Ordered, That Mr. Ball do, from this House, desire Mr. Thomas Goodwyn to preach before the House of Commons, at the parish church of Margaret's, Westminster, on the Publick Day of Thanksgiving, being Tuesday, the 8th day of September, now next coming."

*"DIE JOVIS—10*th September*, 1646.

[Sir William Waller was to thank Obadiah Sedgwick for his sermon.]

"Ordered, That Mr. Blakiston do, from this House, give thanks unto Mr. Thomas Goodwyn for the great pains he took in the sermon preached by him, at the entreaty of this House,

* Vol. iv. p. 664.

on Tuesday last at St. Margaret's, Westminster, it being a day of Public Thanksgiving; and desire him to print his sermon: and he is to have the like privilege in printing of it, as others in the like kind have usually had."

The occasion for which that day was observed must have furnished Goodwin with a glorious vindication of the suggestions made by him in the previous sermon; but we know nothing of the text or the sermon, as no copy of the discourse now exists.

In the beginning of 1647 a difference broke out between the army and the Parliament, caused by religious differences, for the army was practically Independent, while the Parliament men were Presbyterians.

On the 23rd February Goodwin was again chosen to preach at St. Margaret's on the monthly fast day, but neither text nor copy of the sermon have survived. At that time

the dissensions between the Presbyterians in Parliament and the Independents there and in the army were rapidly waxing strong.

The army demanded the expulsion of eleven leading Presbyterians from Parliament; and at a time when affairs looked very threatening the impeached members fled from the country. Then the Presbyterians in the House demanded the disbanding of the army, and the army, directed by Cromwell, Fairfax, and Ireton, refused to submit to such a process. Tumults took place in London, and the state of England became one of great danger.

About this time Goodwin, thoroughly disheartened by the state of the kingdom, gave ear to the invitations he had received from Mr. John Cotton of Boston, and determined to sail for New England. His wife's state of health was not good, and this might have been one inducement for him to leave England. But the whole of the circumstances

connected with his intended emigration look as if the result was arrived at hastily, for it was never carried out. It had, however, gone so far that Goodwin parted from his congregation, and had placed most of his goods on board, when the entreaties of his friends prevailed, he removed his goods, and returned on shore. This incident, like many others that befell him, is shrouded in doubt. We do not know the whole of his reasons for determining to go, nor those which he allowed to induce him to return. The very sickness from which his wife was then suffering may have been one reason made use of by his friends that he should return. It is clear that, having once returned, the idea of going never re-entered his mind, although he maintained a warm correspondence with his friends in New England to the last. Nor does his purpose seem to have been generally made known, for not long afterwards he was selected

by the House of Lords to have the oversight, care, and direction of all the printed matter belonging to the Assembly of Divines.

The disorders that were threatened by the quarrel between the Parliament and the army were averted, and the King's captivity was not affected. He managed to escape once or twice, but that only led to his imprisonment being made more rigorous. In the course of his wanderings from prison to prison he found himself interned at Hampton Court Palace for a short time. It was his last visit to that famous royal palace. While he was still at Hampton Court another fast day was observed. This was in the beginning of October, 1647; and a member of the House of Commons was directed once more to invite Mr. Thomas Goodwin to preach before the House. There is no doubt that the preacher accepted the service and preached the sermon, but we have again to record the loss of the

sermon, and not even the text is now known. Knowing the preacher as we do know him, however, we have little doubt but that good advice was given to the Parliament men, some hints dropped about mercy, and no attempt made to direct their minds to any conclusion in the matter that was then forcing itself upon the minds of all—namely, what they were to do with the King.

Again, on the 29th of March, 1648, Goodwin preached before the House of Commons assembled in St. Margaret's, Westminster, and this closed the series of sermons delivered by him before the trial and execution of the King.

After that a new series of events arose, and Goodwin—of whose ability the House then had had plenty of opportunity of judging—rapidly rose to eminence in a new sphere. Those of his sermons that have survived show him to have always preached tem-

perately with respect to the political events of the day, but that he took a most determined stand as an Independent leader in theological matters. He was much admired for his scholarly attainments, for his straightforward language, and for the abounding moderation which possessed him.

Before the close of 1648 a domestic calamity befell him, the measure of which can only be judged by those who have suffered in like manner. The state of the kingdom, so full of unrest, and the position occupied by her husband at Court, may have had something to do with that illness which resulted in Mrs. Goodwin's death. The quiet evenings which they had enjoyed together in Holland vanished for ever when they returned to England. Every spare moment that her husband had was spent in his study; there was no end to the demands upon his time. Anxiety of heart slays as surely as disease, and something of that sort

undermined Mrs. Goodwin's health; and when their little daughter was of the interesting age of ten, Mrs. Goodwin died, leaving the child more than motherless, and her husband more than widowed, with the cares and anxieties of State service added to those of a pastor.

Charles I. was tried in Westminster Hall before the High Court of Justice, Bradshaw, Chief Justice of Chester, presiding over the Court. The King was condemned January 27th, 1649, and was executed in front of Whitehall three days afterwards.

After that event it is not to be wondered that a sudden calm fell upon the nation. What had the Commons done? They had abolished the House of Lords, appointed a Council of State, and beheaded three noblemen—the Duke of Hamilton, Earl Holland, and Lord Capel.

The principal characters in the great drama were then to be changed, and the men who

had been preparing themselves for the time were about to step forward and do the work set them to do. Charles I. was dead, his son had assumed the title of Charles II., but another was to occupy the throne—the greatest uncrowned monarch that the world has ever seen; but before Cromwell was hailed Protector of England, he had some stubborn fighting to do, and sundry victories to lay before Parliament and the nation.

Cromwell and Goodwin are now brought before us in conjunction for the first time, but in such a way as argues previous acquaintance. Possibly the suggestion as to their being "kinsfolk" had really something to do with the favour shown Goodwin by the Independent members in the House of Commons. If there was any relation between Cromwell and Goodwin, it was a fortunate thing for the latter that at this time Cromwell became the foremost man in the kingdom.

In April, 1649, there were signs of disaffection amongst the people of Ireland, the Parliament resolved to take decisive measures for the repression of further rebellions, and Cromwell was created Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

When Parliament assembled on April 20th, amongst other business they had to transact was to fix a fast day, and to select preachers for a special object. The matter is thus reported in the Journals of the House :—

"Thursday, May 3rd, was appointed fast day to implore God's blessing upon the forces of the Parliament already in Ireland, and that are to be sent there."

Further on it adds—

"Ordered, That Lieutenant-General Crumwell* do, from this House, desire Mr. Thomas

* The spelling of the name in the Journal is Crumwell. The printer at that time evidently did not know how it should be correctly spelt. But the mistake does not occur again.

Goodwin to preach before this House, at Margaret's, Westminster, on Thursday, the third day of May next, being a day set apart for public humiliation."

Cromwell and Goodwin then had direct communication with one another. What a memorable interview! How we should have liked to know what passed upon the occasion! Immediately after the interview Cromwell busied himself with the preparations for his expedition. There were more troops to be selected, and all the multitudinous things prepared necessary for an army taking the field.

The Journals of the House record the fact that upon the day appointed the sermon was preached, but we look again in vain for text or sermon.

An interesting question arises here: Did Cromwell hear that sermon? He was not actively engaged in Ireland until the end of

May, and there is every probability that he was present in Margaret's, Westminster, when his friend Goodwin preached. Then we should like to know what was the subject of the sermon, and how Goodwin dealt with the text he selected. It may have been an Old Testament story, in which the enemies of the Lord were slain, one and all. Before that same month of May had gone out, Cromwell reappeared before the House of Commons for the purpose of receiving the formal vote of the House "for the great services done to the Commonwealth in the business," and at the same sitting it was "resolved to have a day for public thanksgiving for the success granted to the Parliamentary forces in timely suppressing the late insurrection and rebellion."

June 7th was the day appointed for the public thanksgiving, and Mr. Thomas Goodwin was selected to preach before the House

of Commons on that day. On this occasion the sermon was preached in Christ Church, London.

Upon the day that thanks were voted to Goodwin, it was— "Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee for regulating the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to take into their consideration the placing of Mr. Thomas Goodwin in some headship of a college in one of the said Universities, with respect to his great learning and worth."

That was the opinion formed by the House upon the sermons they had heard; but the suggestion for the appointment is said to have first had its birth in a recommendation made by Cromwell to that effect during a late progress through the country, in the course of which he visited Oxford.

CHAPTER V.

1649.

The Council of State—Whitehall Palace—The Council of State take possession of the Palace—Servants of the Council—Lodgers in the Palace—Winter Amusements—Goodwin as a Pastor—Recommended for the Headship of a College—Marries a second time.

THE Council of State now represented a new power in the kingdom, and Government was carried on in their joint name for several years, and without a House of Lords. That renowned House was scarcely missed at all. It was the custom of the Council to sit early in the morning, and after dispatching what business there was in hand, to adjourn to the House of Commons for the remainder of the day. It met as early as seven or

eight in the morning, and a few hours sufficed to do all that was wanted.

The palace of Whitehall consisted of a mass of irregularly built houses, clustering about a central building which was called the Palace. There were three acres of ground occupied by gardens and spaces for games; and there were in all about two hundred dwelling-houses occupied by officers of State and servants. Amongst the servants was one John Henry, father of Philip Henry, and grandfather of Matthew Henry. John Henry was a devoted Royalist, and blessed King Charles I. as he passed to the Orchard stairs on his way to take his trial at Westminster Hall. Philip Henry, his son, when a boy, crept out of his father's house and saw the unhappy King executed. The grounds were very extensive, and embraced the entire space between Charing Cross and the Sanctuary at Westminster, and from

the Thames to the wall of St. James's Park on the west.

It was in this palace that Wolsey held his court with great pomp, and in the banqueting-hall he laid out his wealth of gold and silver, jewels, and tapestry in such profusion as to astonish even the ambassadors of foreign kings. Here were masks and mummeries, singing and dancing.

When James I. came to Whitehall he knighted three hundred gentlemen at once in the garden.

From here, when his course was run, Wolsey departed, preceded by one cross only, to the Priory Stairs, where he took his barge *en route* for Esher, where he died.

In this palace Henry VIII. was married to Anne Boleyn; and here afterwards that king died.

Holbein and Rubens in their day lent their skill to the adornment of the palace, and

the most celebrated architects assisted in developing the beauties of the place. There was a beautiful terrace beside the river from whence the galley was entered for river journeys, and the gardens were adorned with curious sundials and beautiful statues.

On commencing their sittings at Whitehall, the Council of State passed a resolution appropriating to their use the whole of the palace for State purposes, and residential suites of apartments were allotted to certain members of the Council and their officials. The Council also voted for their own use £10,000 worth of the furniture, tapestry, and goods belonging to the late King.

The notes of the Council survive in several thick volumes of MS., kept at the Public Record Office, and an examination of their contents shows how, from time to time, they first made themselves very comfortable, then filled up the offices about the palace and the

park, and allotted to each office a salary and perquisites. They were very particular that the council-room in which they held their meetings should be kept free from intruders, special reference being made to noisy women, who were on no account to be allowed to come within the precincts of the palace. Access to the doors was to be kept clear, so that the members of the Council should go to and fro without being subject to annoyance. There was to be a guard of not less than twenty soldiers always on duty when the Council was deliberating, and they limited the quantity of coal to be consumed by the guard in twenty-four hours to one bushel.

With regard to the duties to be performed by some of the lower officers, it is mentioned that the key of the water-gate leading up from the Thames into the garden should be always kept by the sentry. Richard Nutt, master of the Commonwealth barge, was to

receive £100 a year. Thomas Washborne, his assistant, was paid £20 a year, and the watermen 20*s*. each per quarter. From this we learn that the Commonwealth set up a barge or State galley, and that the Council frequently went by water to Westminster, when they adjourned from Whitehall to the House of Commons.

We shall hear of this barge much oftener when Oliver Cromwell takes his place at the head of the Commonwealth.

Richard Scutt, the keeper of Whitehall, drew 16*s*. a day for himself, but out of that salary he had to find and pay five servants, so that there did not remain very much for his own use; but, perhaps, the Council knew more about the perquisites than the State papers now reveal.

There were two porters who had £30 a year each, besides lodgings and some other allowances.

These are the names and salaries of some of the lower servants.

There was Mr. Randolph, to whom was committed the charge of the State Paper Office of that day. Several rooms were allotted to his use in the palace, and he received £80 a year salary.

Mr. Hall was employed to answer pamphlets, and for doing so he got a salary of £100 a year.

There was an Intelligence Department, under the control of Mr. Scott, who received £800 a year.

Then there were twelve mounted messengers at 5*s.* a day, and 6*d.* a mile riding charges, and four clerks, who divided 26*s.* 8*d.* a day amongst them.

Next we come to some who had higher functions to perform, and received still better pay.

Edward Dendy was sergeant-at-arms. He

was a man possessed of an elastic conscience, and ready to serve any party. His salary was 20*s.* a day, and he had eight officers to execute his warrants, who were paid 3*s.* 4*d.* a day, and 4*d.* a mile riding charges.

Walter Frost was secretary to the Council, and received 40*s.* a day, and 2*s.* 6*d.* a day for a servant; while his son, Walter, jun., was assistant-secretary at 20*s.* a day.

There are a few more names worth mentioning, because they are better known.

Thomas Goodwin and Peter Sterry were appointed chaplains at £200 a year each, and John Milton was secretary for foreign tongues at £300 a year.

Amongst those who had apartments provided for them in Whitehall were Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke and Lord de Lisle, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal; Colonel Hutchinson, Colonel Wauton, and Colonel Valentine.

The rooms of Colonel Valentine were draped with six pieces of tapestry that had belonged to the King, the subjects of two being the stories of Elijah and Hercules.

Edward Dendy, the sergeant-at-arms, also had apartments in the palace; and there were three others who had rooms there in whom we are specially interested. These were John Milton, Thomas Goodwin, and Peter Sterry.

The following is a verbatim copy taken from the proceedings of the Council of State with regard to the election of the chaplains:—

"Proceedings of the Council of State, Die Veneris, 2nd November, 1649. Present—Lord President Bradshaw, Sir William Masham, Sir Henry Vane, Lord Commissioner Whitelocke, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Bond, Mr. Jones, Mr. Scot, and Sir James Harrington.

"Resolution 7.—That Sir Henry Mildmay doe acquaint Mr. Thomas Goodwin that it is

the desire of this Councell to have him to be one of the two preachers to this Councell.

"8. That the sermons at Whitehall shall begin on Sunday come sevenight, and that Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Sterry have notice of it.

"9. That Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Sterry shall have lodgings appointed them in Whitehall, and that the committee of the Councell for Whitehall doe give order for their accommodation.

"10. That it be referred to the same committee to appoint fit officers for keeping the Chappell and the Privy Lodgings, and they therein to use the best frugality they can.

"14. That Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Sterry shall have allowed to them two hundred pounds per annum apiece for and in acon [consideration] of their being employed as ministers to this Councell."

Goodwin was at that time a widower, with

a little daughter eleven years of age; and the change from a City residence to a suite of rooms in the Old Palace, with such companions as John Milton and Peter Sterry, and such neighbours as Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Sir Henry Vane, must have been one of a very welcome character to him.

Fancy the great preacher sitting in a wainscoted chamber that overlooked the garden; a few hardy flowers peeping from out the beds of snow to give assurance that all the flowers with their odours and their beauty would come again when the long winter had passed. The trees even in their leafless state were beautiful, and through the naked branches a beautiful picture was presented of old Father Thames hurrying on his way, one time going, the next returning, as though he, too, shared the unrest with which the nation was baptized.

It was winter time when Goodwin was appointed preacher to the Council, and the garden would then present but few attractions to those who lodged in the palace; but there were spacious rooms, with fires burning on the hearthstone in open grates, and before the cheerful blaze, on stools, there sat some of those who lodged in the palace, and who in the evenings would talk over the vexed questions of State. They would discuss what was likely to be the outcome of all the strife that was going on in the nation, or points of faith and religious discipline would arise, or the major portion would be listeners as Milton discoursed upon celestial things, while yet they were but forming themselves in his mind into what afterwards became "Paradise Lost."

What discussions those must have been on the events of State, and of the men who were doing the work of the State! If the question

of the treatment of the Protestants upon the Continent was mentioned, how hotly would they have denounced the merciless treatment the poor Puritans were receiving, and how eloquently would Milton speak of the poor, struggling, much-persecuted Protestants on the Continent!

Opinions were then being formed that in after years were destined to be proclaimed throughout the world, to the wonder of men and the admiration of coming ages.

Perhaps in their weak moments the residents in the palace would suffer the ghostly figures that walked the corridors to present themselves and talk to each other of the last moments of the late King—how well he carried himself as he walked out of the palace into the garden to be beheaded; and how strange a thing happened afterwards, when a soldier saw Cromwell standing beside the open coffin, looking on the pallid face of the dead King.

There were no petty jealousies amongst such men as they were who lived together in Whitehall, and their lightest conversations must have been instructive, could we but have listened to them.

Perhaps Goodwin occasionally was one of those who formed a circle round a table, at the head of which was Cromwell, when, we are told, the great host would call for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, now and then taking a pipe himself; and, by way of diversion, making verses, while every one present had to try his fancy in versifying.*

To one so learned as Goodwin was, the additional labour thrown upon him by the morning sermon to the Council could not have been a serious matter; and it may be that, after the fashion of modern days, the sermon he preached in the morning served, with slight alterations, for his own gathered

* "Life of Oliver Cromwell," 1200, d. 11, Brit. Mus.

congregation at night in the City. There was no regular weekly sermon to his congregation at that time, but Goodwin had an occasional weekly lecture to prepare in turn with other leading Puritans.

At such a period, however, there must have been a good deal of visiting to be done by the minister; and, judging by the past, Goodwin was a man who divided his time strictly, and performed faithfully every duty cast upon him by his twofold office of preacher.

Amongst the members of his gathered church in the City were men of high position in the kingdom; and, from the casual statements of men living at the time, we learn that the meeting-house was always crammed when Goodwin preached. This meeting-house, and several others to which the congregation migrated in after years, maintained the reputation earned in Goodwin's time for the largeness of their congregations.

Of Goodwin's services on Sunday mornings at Whitehall no record remains; possibly the sermons were extempore, with the aid of notes only, and so no MSS. survived his death. How they may have shaped the purposes of the men who heard them, and been reflected in their deliberate acts afterwards, it is not our province even to offer a suggestion.

At the same period there was one other duty in which he was engaged which must not be lost sight of, and that was his membership of the Assembly of Divines. This Assembly sat first in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and afterwards in the Jerusalem Chamber. At the sittings of this Assembly he was a regular attendant, and took a very active part in the deliberations and discussions of that body; so that altogether his time must have been very fully occupied.

Prior to Goodwin's appointment as preacher

to the Council of State, it was suggested by Cromwell that he should be appointed to the headship of some college at Oxford or Cambridge. Cromwell visited Oxford in June, 1649, and, from inquiries he made at the time, there is no doubt he became convinced of the necessity of appointing men of learning —university men themselves—to the headships of the colleges as vacancies were created. He thought that that was the best way to train up a set of godly preachers to take the places of those as to whose godly lives there were grave doubts.

A note in reference to this matter appears in the Journals of the House of Commons for June 8, 1649. One of the first resolutions on the books for the day is as follows:—

"Ordered, That the thanks of the House be given unto Mr. Goodwin for his great pains taken in his sermon, preached before this House yesterday, in Christ Church, London,

being the day appointed for public thanksgiving; and that he be desired to print his sermon: and he is to have the like privilege in printing the same as others in like case have usually had."

Later on upon the same day, without any explanatory or introductory words, this resolution is recorded:—

"Ordered, That it be referred to the committee for regulating the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to take into their consideration the placing of Mr. Thomas Goodwin in some headship of a college in one of the said universities, with respect to his great learning and worth."

The celebrated Tillotson was at that time a scholar in Clare Hall, Cambridge. In writing to a friend he makes use of the remarkable phrase: "As for our university affairs, they are as before I came into the country, only we have less hopes of procuring

Mr. Thomas Goodwin for our master than we had." From this it appears that before the close of this year there was talk amongst the students of Cambridge as to the appointment of some new masters to vacant halls, and that there was a general desire expressed amongst some of them to have Goodwin in that position. It was only natural that the students in whose midst he had been educated, and who may be supposed to have known him better than those of Oxford, should desire to have a man set over them in whom they had perfect confidence. But they were doomed to be disappointed in that respect. Nor would the matter have gone so far as to be mentioned in the House in the form it was, unless it had received the special approval of Goodwin himself; and there is no doubt that in considering the subject he came to the conclusion that the sphere in which he could do the greatest amount of good was the

one that he ought to choose, and that, upon a careful consideration of all the arguments, that the mastership of a college gave him the best opportunities of doing good in his own day and of influencing future generations through the rising race of students.

Perhaps he took counsel with Milton and Sterry, and was guided entirely by their advice in the matter. Then came the question whether a widower was best adapted to fulfil the duties devolving upon the master of a college.

He had been a widower for full twelve months; he was about to enter upon a much wider field of pastoral duties than he had been occupying; he would be expected to act the part of a master liberally, and entertain both tutors and scholars; so after mature deliberation he came to the conclusion that it would be advisable for him to marry again. His biographers introduced

he name of his second wife in the most ommonplace fashion, and it is impossible o trace anything about her now. His on Thomas, in a few notes for a memorial f his father which he compiled, tells us f his father's second marriage in these ords: "In the year 1649 he married Mis-ess Mary Hammond, descended from the ncient family of the Hammonds in Shrop-hire, whose ancestor was an officer in the rmy of William, Duke of Normandy, when e invaded England, A.D. 1066. Though he was but in the seventeenth year of er age, she had the gravity and prudence f a matron. Her conjugal affection, her ender care, her wise administration of the ffairs of her family, the goodness of her isposition, and, more than all this, her grace nd piety, have left an honourable remem-rance of her among all that knew her."

This was excellent testimony borne by a

son to the care of his mother, and the only fault we have to find with it is that he does not tell us more.

Towards the end of the year Goodwin married again, and he took his young wife with him to his lodgings in Whitehall.

There, amongst the old galleries and quaintly decorated chambers, they spent the honeymoon of their married life; and there no doubt she was introduced to John Milton and to Peter Sterry, and probably to the grave Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, who was a married man himself and father of a large family.

The son of Goodwin takes pains, as it seems, to tell us that his mother was only seventeen years when she was married; his father was forty-nine; and possibly in those Puritan days some of his grave and reverend friends may have twitted him with bringing to the palace so young a bride.

CHAPTER VI.

1650—1651.

President of Magdalen College—Resigns his Pastorship in London—Dr. Thos. Harrison succeeds him—Rev. T. Mallery succeeds Harrison—Goodwin at Oxford—His new-gathered Church—Distinguished Members—Marriage of his Daughter—Birth of his Children—The Battle of Worcester—Scene in the House—Preaches before Parliament—Banquet at Whitehall.

WHEN Goodwin contemplated marriage for the second time, he was aware of the recommendation that had been received by the House as to his appointment to a mastership of some college. The suggestion, according to Whitelocke, was first made by Cromwell—his old friend, if not kinsman. Perhaps in one of his hasty visits to London

at that period Cromwell had taken an opportunity of conferring with Goodwin in Whitehall on the suggestion that he afterwards made to Parliament.

But how does this place Goodwin as the pastor of a church in the City? Nine years only had expired since his return from Holland, and during the whole of that time he had been diligent in the performance of his duties as an Independent minister. Would not his church consider that he was running away from them — deserting them in a measure at such a time? These feelings prevailed to a limited extent. Goodwin had endeared himself very much to his congregation. His meeting-house was always crowded to hear him. There were many men holding high official positions in the army and the Parliament members of his church; many City men also worshipped with him, and City dames of considerable

means. Goodwin's influence was not, however, confined to one branch of the Christian Church, but to all the Dissenting churches of London, and it was felt throughout the whole land.

We cannot speak positively as to the site of his first meeting-house; but we know this, that he founded a living church; and every step taken by that church we can trace from its first foundation, throughout the centuries that have elapsed, down to the present moment; and we know the names of all the pastors that since his day have preached the gospel to the church Goodwin first formed. It is not because Goodwin constructed this or that meeting-house that the church is yet proud of him, but because he founded and nourished that living church of which the City Temple is the legitimate descendant. It is rarely that a congregation is able to name the several meeting-houses in which

their predecessors have met from the foundation of the church, particularly when the history goes back for more than two hundred years; yet in Goodwin's case, excepting with regard to the precise spot where the first meeting-house was placed, we can name every place in which the congregation worshipped.

This congregation, moulded by himself, shared his own feelings that it became a man's duty to give up a settled ministry, however considerable it might be, if God pointed out a wider field of usefulness. Those were days when a man had to consider first the benefit of others, and not the following out of his own wishes. When it first became known amongst the members of Goodwin's congregation that there was a likelihood of his leaving them, great sorrow was excited; but Goodwin set the matter before his people in such a light that he

won their sorrowful acquiescence. It was a better thing for a man to educate one hundred ministers for congregations, than to rest satisfied with having one congregation himself. On a previous occasion he had allowed the arguments of his congregation to prevail with him, and had returned ashore even after having taken his place on board ship, to continue his ministry amongst his own people; but on this occasion the hand of God was so clearly displayed, that there was no doubt as to the course he ought to pursue, and his congregation acquiesced in the change. It was a very much more serious thing in those days for congregations and ministers to be parted from each other than it is now. Ministers were fewer in number, and the minister was almost invariably the father of his congregation, ministering to them in sacred things on the Sabbath, and advising or comforting them under all the varied cir-

cumstances of a period of civil and political distraction. For more than six months the congregation and their minister contemplated the approaching severance of their connection before it was actually accomplished; and during that time they had plenty of opportunity to look about them for a suitable successor.

It is a singular fact that the first minister to succeed Goodwin was one who had been educated in New England. This was Dr. Thomas Harrison. He was a native of Kingston-upon-Hull, and when a child was carried off by his parents to New England, where he was trained for the ministry from youth. Soon after completing his education he was appointed chaplain to the Governor of Virginia, and was acting in that capacity when a fearful massacre of whites took place at the hands of the Indians. After that event the Governor of Virginia became

dissatisfied with his chaplain on account of the seriousness which that event implanted in him, and Dr. Harrison sailed for Old England. In London he became acquainted with Dr. Goodwin, probably through letters addressed to him by Mr. John Cotton, and preached for him with great acceptance on several occasions. Dr. Harrison's ministry was so much liked, that when Goodwin determined to accept the mastership of a college he recommended Dr. Harrison to the congregation as his successor. Dr. Harrison was accepted by the church, and the way was thus made clear for Mr. Goodwin to enter upon his new duties.

When the matter was last before the House of Commons in June, it was recommended that a headship of some college should be found for Goodwin; and now his appointment to one came through the direct vote of the House. It is thus recorded in the Journals:—

"DIE MARTIS—*8th January*, 1650.

"Prayers. The question being propounded that Mr. Thomas Goodwin be appointed to be President of Maudlyn College in Oxford, and the question being put that the question be now put, it passed with the affirmative. Resolved, That Mr. Thomas Goodwin be appointed to be President of Maudlyn College, in Oxford. Ordered, That it be referred to the committee of Oxford to see it don accordingly."

The link thus severed between Good and his first gathered church in St. Dunst in the East was never more to be rene The foundation of the church was com by him, a flourishing congregation wa stituted, and the flock was hencefortl directed by other shepherds.

Dr. Harrison did not continue church more than three years; a

THOMAS GOODWIN, D.D.

AS PRESIDENT OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE.

[*From a Portrait in the British Museum.*]

ministry we only know that he was "extremely followed." * He afterwards went to Bromborough Hall, in Wirral; thence, in 1657, he went over to Ireland with Henry Cromwell, the Lord Deputy. He ultimately died in Dublin, after the Restoration, but the year is not known. He was succeeded in the pastorate of the church by the Rev. Thomas Mallery, who remained in that office until his death, in about 1668.

The new duties upon which Mr. Goodwin now entered were most congenial to him. Ever since his return from Holland, and during his first pastorate in London, he was continually receiving letters from ministers of the gospel, attributing to their attendance upon his preaching in Cambridge their own conversion; and it was therefore without any scruple that he now entered upon the responsible post of head of a college.

* Wilson's "Dissenting Churches," vol. i. p. 222.

John Owen was at that time Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; and there were many others in the university to whom Goodwin was endeared by old acquaintance.

As soon as Goodwin was settled in his new office he introduced several changes in the discipline with a view to the benefit of the students, the most notable of which was his undertaking, in conjunction with Dean Owen, to preach at St. Mary's Church. The sermons in this church had previously been preached by the young fellows of the university, and the alteration was made that a firmer tone might be given to the service. So important was this service considered, that before the close of 1651 it became the subject of a special resolution of the House of Commons. The record remains in the Journals of the House, under date October 28th, as follows:

"Resolved, That Mr. Owen, Dean of Christ
and Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President

of Magdalen College, in the University of Oxford, be appointed to preach every Lord's day in the afternoon in Mary's Church in turn."

At that period Philip Henry, father of Matthew Henry, the commentator, was a resident at Christ Church, and in the memoir of his father, Matthew Henry relates that he "would often mention with thankfulness to God what great helps and advantages he then had in the university sermons, not only for learning, but for religion and piety. I have heard him speak," he says, "of the prudent method they then took about the university sermons on the Lord's day in the afternoon, that used to be preached by the fellows of colleges, but that being found not so much for edification, Dr. Owen and Dr. Goodwin performed that service alternately, and the young masters that were wont to preach it had a lecture on Tuesday appointed them."

Dr. Goodwin's residence at Oxford lasted ten years, exactly the same number he had spent in London in the oversight of his first congregation.

In his new sphere of labour he also found time to form another gathered church for the benefit of the students, fellows, and citizens. In this church there were united together in membership many of the most learned men then at the university, and the names of several of them have been preserved. These were* Mr. Thankful Owen, President of St. John's; Mr. Howell, Master of Jesus; Mr. Theophilus Gale, Fellow of Magdalen; Mr. Stephen Charnock, Fellow of New College; Mr. Blower, Fellow of Magdalen; Mr. Terry, Fellow of University College, and Mr. Moses Lowman, the celebrated expositor of the Apocalypse. John Howe, at that time a member of Magdalen College, did not unite

* Memoir by Dr. Halley.

with the church on its first formation, his alleged reason being the stress laid upon some trifles of church order. As soon as Goodwin became acquainted with this, he told Howe that such a matter should not exclude him, and set aside the regulations objected to on purpose to admit him to worship. There was no church existing at that period which numbered amongst its members so many celebrated men.

As the head of a college, Goodwin had to see to the administration of the law with regard to the conduct of the students and the fellows; and instances are on record of appeals being made from his decisions, which were heard before the Chancellor of the University sitting at Whitehall.

He also evinced great concern for the conversion of his students; and, in illustration of this trait in his character, a story has been preserved in the pages of the *Spectator* which

is worth repeating. "About an age ago," says Addison, "it was the fashion in England for every one that would be thought religious to throw as much sanctity as possible into his face, and in particular to abstain from all appearance of mirth and pleasantry, which were looked upon as the marks of a carnal mind. The saint was of a sorrowful countenance, and generally eaten up with spleen and melancholy. A gentleman, who was lately a great ornament to the learned world [Anthony Henley, Esq., who died in August, 1771], has diverted me more than once with an account of the reception which he met with from a very famous Independent minister, who was head of a college in those times. This gentleman was then a young adventurer in the republic of letters, and just fitted out for the university with a good cargo of Latin and Greek. His friends were resolved that he should try his fortune at an election which

was drawing near in the college, of which the Independent minister whom I have before mentioned was governor. The youth, according to custom, waited on him in order to be examined. He was received at the door by a servant, who was one of that gloomy generation that were then in fashion. He conducted him with great silence and seriousness to a long gallery, which was darkened at noonday, and had only a single candle burning in it. After a short stay in this melancholy apartment he was led into a chamber hung with black, where he entertained himself for some time by the glimmering of a taper, until at length the head of the college came out to him from an inner room, with half-a-dozen night-caps upon his head and religious horror on his countenance. The young man trembled, but his fears increased when, instead of being asked what progress he had made in learning, he was examined how he abounded in grace.

His Latin and Greek stood him in little stead, he was to give an account only of the state of his soul: whether he was of the number of the elect; what was the occasion of his conversion; upon what day of the month and hour of the day it happened; how it was carried on, and when completed. The whole examination was summed up with one short question, namely, whether he was prepared for death? The boy, who had been bred up by honest parents, was frighted out of his wits at the solemnity of the proceedings and by the last dreadful interrogatory; so that, upon making his escape out of the house of mourning, he could never be brought a second time to the examination, as not being able to go through the terrors of it." *

This story bears all the marks of truth upon its face, and the slightly exaggerated tone of alarm which pervades the narrative gives it

* The *Spectator*, No. 494.

wonderful effect. The cap which Goodwin wore at the time was simply that worn by the master of a college, and it appears in all the portraits of him that now exist. But Goodwin did not rule over his students by the exercise of terror, and during ten years of office his success was very great. Nor was it amongst the students alone that he was successful. He bound to himself by more than ordinary bonds the most eminent men in the university, of which fact the few whose names have been mentioned will abundantly testify.

While in Oxford his daughter Elizabeth grew to womanhood, under the loving care of her step-mother, and was espoused by Mr. John Mason, of whom all we know is that he was a citizen of London.

During his residence in Oxford, also, his second wife gave birth to four children; two daughters, who died in their infancy, and

two sons, Thomas and Richard, the elder of whom survived him, and became a minister of the gospel in Fetter Lane, London.

With such men as Goodwin idleness was impossible, but the most industrious of men must have been more than satisfied with the labours that fell to Goodwin's share at Oxford. A great and flourishing college had to be directed, and the inmates to be kept up to the mark; sermons had to be prepared, not only for his gathered church, but also for the worshippers at St. Mary's every alternate Sunday afternoon. An industrious man, however, can always carve out leisure for the performance of one additional task over and beyond any allotted sum, and so it was with Goodwin.

The Parliamentary men had grown so fond of his sermons, that upon nearly every great occasion they sent for him to come and preach to them.

So it came to pass that in September, 1651, another excuse was found for getting a sermon out of him. The occasion is set forth in a characteristic way in the journals of the House.

"Saturday, September 6, 1651, Major John Cobbett gave an account in the House of the battle at Worcester, and produced a collar S. S., which was the King of Scots', and his Garter, which Major Cobbett took in the King's quarters at Worcester.

"Resolved, To have a day of Solemn Thanksgiving for the Victory, to be kept October 2, Thursday, at Margaret's, Westminster; and after the Sermon the Parliament to meet together at the Banquetting House, Whitehall, to dine together.

"Resolved, That Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Owen, be desired to preach before Parliament this day.

"Sir Henry Vane to tell Goodwin.

"Sir H. Mildmay to tell Owen."

The meeting of the House at which these resolutions were come to must have been one of no ordinary interest. Imagine the floor occupied by those long-visaged, grave-looking gentlemen, with their hair flowing down their backs or lying in masses upon the white collar that rested upon their shoulders. They wore black tight-fitting jackets, buttoned down the front; their legs were encased in knee-breeches, black silk stockings and shoes with steel buckles completing their attire. Major Cobbett, arrayed in leather jacket with laced sleeves, a sash wound round his waist, and jack-boots, bronzed with exposure to the sun, tells the House the story of the battle of Worcester, and how the victory was won by the gallant soldiers of the Commonwealth, under the able generalship of Oliver Cromwell. What laughter must have rung through the House when the

doughty Major held up the collar and badge of the Garter, once the property of the "King of the Scots." When the story was ended and the merriment subsided, the first feeling to which utterance was given was one of deep thankfulness to God for giving them the victory; and a day was at once fixed for a public thanksgiving at Margaret's—there is no idolatrous prefix used in the Journal. What a strange mixture there was of the spiritual and the carnal, in the appointing of a sermon and a dinner on the same day, the sermon to precede the dinner. Was it not quite natural that they should pray and thank God and be merry amongst themselves? for that battle had shattered for many years the hopes that Charles II. had formed of getting back his father's throne immediately and by force of arms. It was a battle that was regarded throughout the whole nation as the closing struggle; and the

nation hoped that for the future arms would be flung aside, and that questions affecting the peaceable settlement and future progress of the nation would henceforth engage their attention.

Before those sermons were heard and that dinner was eaten, the Parliament had rewarded the Lord General Cromwell by presenting to him Hampton Court Palace and a large estate; and while the Parliament men, the Lord General, and the preachers, Goodwin and Owen, were dining together at Whitehall after the service, Charles II. was hiding for his life in an oak-tree.

What strange scenes have been witnessed in the old banqueting-hall at Whitehall. At one time it was the prison-house of the King; a few weeks afterwards it was the scene of a festive rejoicing over the utter defeat of that King's son and the loss of his army; a few days only elapsed, and i[illegible]

became the chief seat of government; a few years only will elapse, and that hall will witness the death of a great uncrowned king; and then, once more, one by birth a king will hold his court there, and pollute the nation with the evil of his life.

Two days of public thanksgiving were held in the same month of October. The first has been already mentioned; the second took place on the 24th of the month, and upon that occasion one sermon was preached, and the preacher was Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College, Oxford. As a preacher, surely there was no one living in his day who was so popular with the Government.

Four days after the delivery of the second sermon a vote of thanks was passed to Goodwin at a meeting of the House, he was desired to print the sermon he had delivered, and Lord General Cromwell was

requested to present to him the thanks of the House.

This was the second time that the Lord General was directed to put himself in communication with Goodwin; and the record of this intercourse between them seems to take away any special wonder we might otherwise have felt at Cromwell soon afterwards selecting him to be one of his chaplains.

CHAPTER VII.

1651—1653.

Cromwell at Hampton Court—Residents in the Palace—Furniture of the Rooms—The Four Looking-glasses—Statue of Venus—Jeremiah White courts Lady Frances and is married to her Maid.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Worcester Oliver Cromwell returned to London to receive the honours that awaited him for his gallant services in the field. The fighting was practically at an end for many years with regard to the succession to the English Crown. For the remainder of the year 1651 there was nothing for Cromwell to do but to take rest, and settle himself in his new abode at Hampton Court.

He brought his wife Joan and his family to London, as well as his mother, an aged lady; and his daughter Elizabeth and her husband, John Claypole, also accompanied him.

Cromwell took up his residence in Hampton Court Palace, the gift of the nation, on October 12th. This palace, long the favourite residence of the monarchs of England, had last served the purpose of a prison for Charles I., shortly before his trial; and when it came into the possession of Cromwell it was furnished throughout by the taste and munificence of Charles. The pictures were of the most valuable character; the tapestry was of Arras, worked by ladies; the carpets were from Persia; the furniture from Spain and Turkey; the most precious contributions of every portion of the world were collected together within the precincts of the palace; and by the use Cromwe

made of the place he showed his appreciation of the treasures that had come into his possession. The palace walls were built of dull red bricks; the rooms were low and small, except in the case of a few used for ceremonial purposes. From the narrow windows a view was obtained of those lovely parks, the trees of which still command the admiration of every visitor. Lakes and fountains diversified the grounds, statues of marble and brass adorned the gardens; while the beds, stocked with the choicest and most sweet-smelling of flowers, gave forth profusely odours which filled the chambers of the palace, and lingered about the armoury and the great hall.

In an inventory of the contents of the palace during the occupation by Oliver Cromwell, there is mention that in the privy garden, standing upon four pedestals of stone, were the following statues: Venus and

Cleopatra in brass, Adonis and Apollo in white marble.*

Apart from the beauty of the landscape and the charms of nature, there were memories associated with the palace which invested it with great historical interest. The great hall was one of the finest in England at that time, and still retains all its ancient grandeur; the harmony of its parts, its wainscoted walls, its painted windows, its hangings of tapestry, and its fine timbered roof burnished with age and adorned with gilt make it still one of the most famous halls that exist.

Here the courtly Wolsey gave entertainment to foreign ambassadors in the name of his master, and feasted them until each in turn had to be led away to his bedchamber.

* The statue of Venus still remains, but it now stands on the summit of the rustic arch, in the centre of the great lake, and in the guide-books it is called Diana.

Here the lustful King, Wolsey's master, brought queen after queen to sport with him for a season, and then to pass beneath the headsman's axe. Queen Mary and King Philip of Spain passed in this palace a gloomy honeymoon; and here Queen Elizabeth first tasted of the sweets of royalty. Revels, maskings, feasts, dances, have been held within the walls of the hall, and kings, queens, princes, ambassadors, and many a foreign potentate, have wiled away a space amid shouts of merriment, or to the music of stringed instruments.

With Oliver Cromwell, however, there entered the representative of a new race; and the great Puritan King with psalm and prayer took possession of the place. Of all those who accompanied him there was only one who disliked the pomp of the grand palace, and went away as soon as she could. This was Cromwell's venerable mother, who

could not settle in a scene surrounded with so much splendour, and who finally took up her residence at Whitehall, where she remained until her death; when she was carried thence to find a temporary resting-place in Westminster Abbey.

There were suites of rooms allotted in Hampton Court to each member of Cromwell's family and all the chief officers of his household, and we now know exactly what each suite of rooms was furnished with.

Of Cromwell's daughters there were two married and two unmarried. Bridget was the wife of Lieutenant-General Ireton, and Elizabeth was the wife of Mr. John Claypole.

Bridget and her husband were only occasional visitors at the palace; but Elizabeth was the favourite daughter of Cromwell, and by making her husband Master of his Horse, he secured the personal attendance of both

daughter and son-in-law, and they abode in the palace. Then there were his unmarried daughters, Mary and Frances, one of whom, after the lapse of several years, was married from the palace.

In the Public Record Office * there is an inventory of the contents of the palace and the parks at the time of the death of Oliver Cromwell, and this furnishes us with an exact description of the furniture and aspect of the principal rooms. Oliver Cromwell's bed-chamber contained the following articles: "Five pieces of fine tapestry hangings of Vulcan and Venus; two window curtains, one of scarlet baize, the other of serge; one small couch, two elbow-chairs, four back-stools, of fly-colour damask cased with watchet baize; one carpet; one black table with a turned frame; one pair of andirons with double brass;

* Inventory of goods and servants at Hampton Court. Ordered June 11th, 1659.

one pair of creepers,* with fire-shovel and tongs; one pair of bellows."

The whole of this furniture, with the exception of the hangings, was brought to the palace by Joan, the Protector's wife. It was what their bedroom was furnished with when Oliver was scarcely so well off as then, but he preferred the old arm-chairs and the old brass poker and bellows to the new-fangled things he found in the palace.

In Cromwell's dressing-room were: "One Spanish table; one old Coberd; two small Turkey carpets; one pair of andirons with double brass; one pair of creepers; a fire-shovel, tongs, and bellows; and four back-stools of Turkey work."

Nothing could have been plainer. The articles were thoroughly good and substantial,

* "Small low irons between the andirons in a grate."—"Wright's Prov. Dic."

and quite appropriate to the character of the great Protector.

The Lady Frances, his daughter, occupied one room which had previously been used by the late King as a cabinet. It was furnished with: "Five pieces of tapestry hangings of Meleager; one piece of tapestry hangings of Sorteene; one feather bed and bolster; one holland quilt; one pair of andirons with double brasses; one pair of creepers, and fire-shovel, tongs, and bellows; and two window-curtains of red baize."

The Ministers' room, which was frequently occupied by Goodwin when he was on duty at the palace, was previously the late King's private oratory. The room was hung round with "striped stuff. One bedstead, the furniture of liver colour, containing curtains of walloon and counterpane; two folding-stools; two back-stools, suitable to the bed; two small carpets of striped stuff; one feather bed

apart for divine worship, which is called in the inventory "the Chappell." This chapel contained a pulpit standing on a table of deal, and twelve long forms for the worshippers to sit upon; and there was also an "Anti-Chappell," possibly a sort of vestry, which contained "a cedar plank 8 ft. square, lying on two forms." It is difficult to understand what could have been the use of such furniture.

"In the long gallery," says the inventory, "are 9 pieces of painting of the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, done by Andræo Montanea." These magnificent water-colour paintings, which are said to have cost £60,000, are now in the gallery, where visitors may see them.

It is unnecessary to explore the palace further, although we have a complete list of the furniture of every room, with the style of the room, and the name of the occupier in Crom-

well's time, and in the time of his predecessor, Charles I.

The contents of the spacious wardrobes, the kitchens, the gardens, and the parks are also given, with the names of many of the servants. One or two items savour strongly of Puritan austerity. For instance, there is mention made of only four looking-glasses. One was in the Rich bed-chamber, "a large looking-glass in an ebony frame;" the second was in the "Lady Claypole's nursery, and is described thus: "One large looking-glass in an ebony frame, with a string of silk and gold." The other two were in the lower wardrobe, and are entered thus: "Two small looking-glasses, one of them being broke."

Halls are specified in which State ceremonials took place, such as the reception of ambassadors. In the Great Hall, the inventory mentions that there was one large organ and a chair organ, which were brought from

Magdalen College, in Oxford, and were worth about £300. What connection Goodwin had with the presence of those organs in the Great Hall we need not stop to inquire.

The palace is full of interest to us as the home of a great man—the great uncrowned king; and we who know him as a valiant and successful general, and as the noblest leader of Independents, would not begrudge him the occasional hours of peace and rest that he obtained in the beautiful palace, surrounded by his sons and daughters, his sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, and his grandchildren. His mother occasionally accompanied him upon the Saturday in the Commonwealth barge from Whitehall, and spent the Sunday with the family in the park; but she invariably returned in the barge on Monday morning with her son to Whitehall. She had some idea that it was absolutely necessary for her to be near him as much as

she could, to protect him from danger; and possibly she was right, for a mother's prayers are mighty.

The mention of "Organs" in the Great Hall suggests many a pleasant Sunday scene. That hall, which had witnessed so many revels, maskings, and balls, was filled with music and the sound of singing on the Sunday, as the great Puritan leader, with his wife, his family, and his friends, with the servants of the household, worshipped God together, and Thomas Goodwin or John Owen preached on the unsearchable riches of Christ. Psalms of David in the palace of Cromwell—what a change from the usage of former days! There on the morning of the Sabbath, and there in the twilight on a summer day, the congregation met together, and singing and music, prayer and exhortation, made holy the Sabbath day. These associations grow upon you as you stand within the

precincts of the Great Hall now, flooded with the "dim religious light" that pours through the painted windows, and you gaze upon the mysterious figures in the tapestry that hang upon the walls, just as they hung and looked when Cromwell and his great chaplain saw them.

Even within Hampton Court, Cromwell did not find perfect repose. He could lay aside to a certain extent the perplexities of State as he left Whitehall; but then family troubles awaited him in his country retreat. As the head of a country patrimony, it mattered but little who came supplicating for his daughters' hands, but it was a vastly different matter when they became the daughters of the chief man in the State. Proper suitors were not lacking, but there were others; and a story is told of one of them which is too good to be omitted. The two unmarried daughters were Mary and Frances,

and of the two, Frances, the younger, was inclined to be a flirt. Lady Frances was therefore regarded as fair game by some of the young idlers about the Court, who hoped, by marrying the great Protector's daughter, to secure themselves for life. Amongst those who entertained this notion was one of Cromwell's chaplains. By the description given of him, it is probable that Master Jeremiah White was rather young for a post of such importance, and he was a great dandy. He was not tall, and had a mincing air about him. He was very particular about his dress, and was always nervous about the state of his snake-bands.

Master White was a favourite about the palace; and he must have been very familiar with those about him, for they generally called him "Jerry." Possibly Cromwell thought that his daughters were perfectly safe in the hands of his chaplains, and therefore gave Master

Jerry more frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with the Lady Frances than he would have done if he had known his susceptibility of heart. At the same time it should be mentioned, in fairness to the lady, that all the love-making was upon Jerry's side. The fact of Jerry's being in love with the Lady Frances did not escape the observant eyes of the ladies and gentlemen in waiting, and it was soon whispered into Cromwell's ears. He listened to the announcement with evident displeasure, for it was his purpose to match the Lady Frances with a very different gentleman; so he requested his informant to acquaint him the next time the young people were together.* The opportunity soon came; and Cromwell was informed that Master Jerry was in the room of the Lady Frances. Cromwell at once proceeded thither. Entering the chamber noiselessly but swiftly, he caught

* Rev. Mark Noble.

Master White upon his knees before his daughter, lavishing kisses on her hand. On hearing the door open, Jerry cast one hasty glance in that direction, and then leaped in an instant to his feet. Astonishment flashed to the face of those present.

Cromwell, with a significant sternness in his face, said, "Master White, what means that attitude—you upon your knees before my daughter, kissing her hand?"

Then Jerry, driven to his wits' end by the discovery, told a wicked story. This was what he said: "May it please your Highness, I have for a long time been suitor to the maid of my Lady Frances, who stands there behind her chair, and she has slighted my suit, and I was only entreating my lady to stand my good friend with her maid."

"Oh, oh!" exclaimed Cromwell; "is that so? Come hither, miss, and tell me what you mean. Do you not know that Master White

there is a friend of mine, and I would have you treat him well? What do you mean by slighting his suit?"

Hereupon the delighted maid replied, "May it please your Highness, if Master White intends me that honour I should not oppose him."

A woman with her wits about her is always more than a match for a liar.

Cromwell was delighted, so was the Lady Frances, so was the maid, and the only unhappy person present was Master Jerry White.

"Then all difficulty is removed," said Cromwell, "and I will have you married before I leave this room."

Turning to a servant, he added, "Go and fetch Master Goodwin."

No doubt the facts of the case were communicated to Goodwin as he hurried along the corridors, for on his appearance, at the

bidding of Cromwell, he proceeded with the ceremony which united Master White and the maid in wedlock. At the conclusion of the ceremony Cromwell gave Mrs. Jerry White an order for £500, and the newly married pair left Hampton Court the same day *en route* for London, where they spent their honeymoon.

From that day the Lady Frances was never more persecuted with the attentions of unfit suitors, and in due time the right man arrived and was married to her.

Jerry and Mrs. White lived together in happy wedlock for more than fifty years, and the story now told was frequently related by them to their friends.

CHAPTER VIII.

1653—1658.

Goodwin chaplain to Cromwell—Becomes D.D.—Appointed Trier and Visitor—The Barebones Parliament—Preaches at the Abbey and at St. Margaret's—Marriage of Ireton's Widow—Preaches at St. Margaret's again—Marriage of Lady Mary and Lady Frances—Lady Mary becomes a Widow—Creation of a new House of Lords.

EVENTS marched with great rapidity as they approached a climax in 1653. Only a few years more remained to Cromwell in which to complete all that he had resolved upon for the good of England and for the glory of God. There thicken around his path perplexities of many kinds, difficulties that had not been foreseen. His real helpers in the kingdom are but few, and they are but feeble

for the performance of such things as Cromwell desired to accomplish. Amongst the men who stood closest to him, and invariably rendered him sound help, was Goodwin, Master of Magdalen College. At one time preacher to the Council of State, at another time the most popular preacher with Parliament men, although his residence was at this time removed from London to Oxford, he was occasionally called upon to perform the duties that attached to the office of chaplain to the Protector. When that appointment was made is not known. Probably he received it before Cromwell became Lord Protector. What Goodwin's duties consisted of we do not now know, nor whether any emolument attached to the office. We do know this, however, that in the times of greatest perplexity and sorest need it was Goodwin who was sent for, and Goodwin invariably came. Many of the incidents of

Goodwin's life appear to be bound up with the life of Oliver Cromwell, and it is not an easy task to relate those which concern Goodwin without running the risk of overshadowing the chaplain with the stature of the great Protector.

In the latter part of 1653 the University of Oxford conferred the degree of D.D. upon Goodwin, and henceforth he was known as Dr. Goodwin. This was a well-earned distinction for one who was an acknowledged scholar, and had laboured in many ways to maintain the standard of learning, and to defend that section of the Christian Church of which he was a member, from undue representations and the attacks of evil men. In addition to the duties involved by his mastership of a college and the claims of his gathered church, the State put another work upon Dr. Goodwin which occupied much of his time and attention. This was the office

of a Trier. Thirty-eight ministers—Presbyterians and Independents—were appointed to try the candidates for vacant livings in the Church, and no one was appointed to a living who was not able to pass an examination before this body of men. It was a very necessary test at the time, because, in consequence of the number of vacancies that existed, there was a danger of unfit men creeping into lucrative offices.

Dr. Goodwin—of whose capability the House of Commons was well aware—was appointed one of these Triers, and most zealously discharged the duties thus devolving upon him.

Nor was this all. In September, 1654, he was appointed a Visitor, to visit all halls and colleges within the university walls, all the public schools, examine the studies of the students, recommend alterations if he chose, correct abuses if any existed, and purge

the places of learning from all scandalous offenders. These powers were previously exercised by special commissioners appointed by the Long Parliament, but their duties could not be exercised after the dissolution of that body.

For both these offices Dr. Goodwin was eminently fitted, and there is no doubt that the exercise of his powers frequently involved him in litigation and caused ill-feeling to be entertained towards him.

During 1653 Cromwell was involved in war with the Dutch, when the honour of England was gloriously vindicated by Blake in several gallant sea victories.

Troubles in England, however, caused Cromwell more anxiety than the Dutch war, for in the same year he dissolved the Long Parliament. The Barebones Parliament practically transferred their power to a council of army officers, and by their influence Cromwell

rose to the highest dignity that could be conferred upon him, and with the title of Lord Protector assumed the reins of Government.

With this event the year 1653 closed.

In the following year Cromwell summoned a new Parliament to meet on September 4th; and in preparation for that event he arranged that Dr. Goodwin should preach to the members before commencing business. The delivery of the sermon is recorded in the Journals of the House of Commons thus:—

"Monday, 4th September, 1654. — The House met at 8 o'clock, and went from thence to the Abbey, where his Royal Highness the Lord Protector came, attended with the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and divers of the Council, being all members of the Parliament, and there heard a sermon preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin; and from thence came into

the Painted Chamber, where his Highness made unto them a large narration of the grounds of their being called together."

This was the second occasion on which we know that Dr. Goodwin preached in Westminster Abbey; and the event was one of great importance, because it was the first meeting of a new Parliament, and it preceded a "large narration" in the Painted Chamber* made to the members by Cromwell immediately afterwards.

The sermon preached by Dr. Goodwin was ordered to be printed, but no copy now exists, and the text even has faded from memory; but we know the subject of the discourse from large references made to it by Cromwell himself in the course of his speech.

Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, who was present, has left it on record that Cromwell sat during

* The Painted Chamber occupied the precise spot now covered by the Members' dining-rooms.

the service over against the pulpit, and the members of Parliament sat on both sides.

Cromwell must have been an attentive listener, for in the course of his "large narration" afterwards to the members of Parliament in the Painted Chamber, he said:—

"It hath been very well hinted to you this day that you come hither to settle the interests above mentioned, for your work here in the issue and consequences of it will extend so far, even to all Christian people. Truly, another reason, unexpected by me, you had to-day in the sermon: you had much recapitulation of providence, much allusion to a state and dispensation of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliveries—to a state and dispensation similar to ours—to, in truth, the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day,—to Israel's bringing out of Egypt through a wilderness

by many signs and wonders towards a place of rest. I say towards it; and that having been so well remonstrated* to you this day, is another argument why I should not trouble you with a recapitulation of those things, though they are things which, I hope, will never be forgotten, because written in better books than those of paper, written, I am persuaded, upon the heart of every good man. You were told to-day of a people brought out of Egypt, towards the land of Canaan, but through unbelief, murmuring, and repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again and linger many years in the wilderness before they came to the place of rest. . . . I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious, and holy understanding of one another, and of your business, concerning which you had so good council this day,

* Should be "demonstrated."

which, as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits." *

They afterwards proceeded to business, and chose Lenthall for Speaker; and before adjourning it was resolved "that Mr. Laurence, Lord President of His Highness's Council, doe give the thanks of this House to Dr. Thomas Goodwin for his great pains in his sermon preached this day before the Parliament, and that he be desired to print his sermon." †

That the sermon gave great satisfaction to the whole House may be inferred from the fact that the same day another fast day was appointed for the 13th of September, and this resolution was passed:—

"Resolved,—That Dr. Thomas Goodwin be desired to be assisting in carrying on the work of the day of public fasting and humiliation on the 13th September, inst. [for London

* Cromwell's "Letters and Speeches."

† Journals of the House of Commons.

and Westminster]; and that Mr. Laurence, Lord President of the Council, doe give him notice hereof." *

This fast was kept in Margaret's Church, Westminster, and Dr. Goodwin was one of the preachers.

These are the only events recorded of Dr. Goodwin during 1654, in addition to the demands made upon him by his office as Master of Magdalen, as trier, as visitor, and as the Puritan head of a church in Oxford.

In the household of Cromwell two events occurred, in each of which Dr. Goodwin was interested, and both may have drawn him from his Oxford duties for a few days.

On October 19th, the widow of General Ireton, one of Cromwell's daughters, espoused for her second husband General Fleetwood, a staunch Cromwellian, and a gallant soldier, who afterwards became Lord Deputy of

* Journals of the House of Commons.

Ireland. Within a month, on November 17th, Mistress Cromwell, the great Protector's mother, in a green old age—for she was about ninety—calling her son to her bedside in Whitehall one night, said: "The Lord cause His face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your adversities; and enable you to do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief unto His people. My dear son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night!" *

That was a sad Christmas which Cromwell spent in the beautiful palace at Hampton. Two vacant places appeared in the circle before the fireside. One was caused by a happy marriage, and the other by the death of his mother: and he now missed his mother's prayers, for the cares of state were beginning to be very burdensome.

Happily for him, before many Christmasses passed he too was at rest and at peace for ever.

* Secretary Thurloe.

In the beginning of 1655 Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell, and this was immediately followed by insurrections. War was also declared by Spain against Great Britain, and Blake destroyed the Spanish fleet near Cadiz.

In the same year troubles fell out about a college at Durham; and a committee of twenty-seven was selected to inquire into the matter, of whom Dr. Goodwin was one.

In 1656 Cromwell summoned another Parliament to meet, and, as was his custom, almost the first thing done was to appoint a fast day.

Upon August 30th, 1657, Dr. Goodwin was called upon to preach before Lord Mayor Tichborne* and aldermen in St. Paul's Cathe-

* Sir Robert Tichborne, who was Lord Mayor at the time, was a member of the Dissenting congregation of which George Cokayn was pastor. Tichborne was one who sat on the trial of Charles I., and signed his death warrant. For this offence he

dral. He chose for his text 2 Cor. v. 5, and when published the sermon was entitled, "A state of glory for spirits of just men upon Dissolution demonstrated." The preface to the sermon is dated from Magdalen College, Oxford.

Parliament met on September 17th, and next day they fixed October 29th for a fast day, Dr. Goodwin being the chosen preacher, and the service was held in Margaret's Church.

In 1657 Parliament offered the Crown to Oliver Cromwell, but he declined to accept it. But to gratify the solicitations of the House, he consented to go through the ceremony of a second installation as Lord Protector, in Westminster Hall.

He was throned upon the Stone of Scone; and in the *Mercurius Politicus* of that day an

was tried as a regicide, October 16th, 1660, and pleaded guilty. He was sentenced to imprisonment for life, and died about June 27th, 1682, in the Tower.

account is given of the installation, which was a very grand ceremony. One or two things in the course of the installation are interesting now. Cromwell came to Westminster by water from Whitehall, and first went into a little Gothic octagonal chamber called the "Lord's House,"* whence after a short retirement he passed into the Painted Chamber.

Gloomy and trying as was the year 1657 in political circles at home and abroad, yet before it closed, fresh rejoicing arose in the family of the great Protector. There was great bustle at Whitehall, for Oliver and Joan his wife were about to part with their remaining unmarried daughters. Surely Dr. Goodwin was at Whitehall when the Lady Frances was married, after performing so useful a part as he did when Jerry White

* The "Lord's House" and a short passage adjoining are the only portions of the Old Houses of Parliament that survive the fire of 1834.

stood in the way. No marriage register survives to record the fact, but there is no doubt that upon November 11th the Lady Frances wedded Mr. Robert Rich, heir to Robert, Earl of Warwick.

Who would have thought, as the relatives and friends crowded round them offering their congratulations, that within eight months the bride would return home a widow.

But let us hope no shadow rested upon them that happy day, but that the sun shone in the wintry sky, as the young couple drove across the courtyard and through the streets on their wedding trip.

That month of November must have been a busy one, for on the 19th there was a second marriage; and this time the Lady Mary—the only remaining daughter—was led to the altar at Hampton Court by the Earl of Falconberg.

The family of the Protector was thus settled

in life—only for a short time, however; but it was never to assemble again as it had been wont, and when it met the next time as members of one family the great founder himself was dead.

Before the year ended Cromwell created a new House of Lords.

CHAPTER IX.

1658.

Goodwin as a Visitor—Parliamentary Wrangles—Plots against the Protector—Executions in the City—Dr. J. Hewitt a Conspirator—Mrs. Claypole intercedes for him—Her Illness—Cromwell also ill—Mrs. Claypole dies—Family Assembly at Hampton Court—Henry Cromwell's Letters—The Funeral Procession to Westminster Abbey.

A LITTLE light is thrown upon the kind of work which Dr. Goodwin had to perform as a visitor, by a number of papers which still exist in the Public Record Office, referring to a gross irregularity in the forms of the university, of which he and others complained; but although we know the grievance and the steps that were taken to remove it, the result does not appear.* In 1657

* Cromwelliana.

Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the Protector, was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and the grievance was set forth in a petition addressed to him as follows:—

"To the Right Honourable the Lord Richard Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.—May it please your Lordship:

"We have received your Lordship's commands with reference unto some orders lately made by us, and our proceedings thereupon in a business of a pretended election of fellows at All Souls College, in this university; as we acknowledge the great favour of His Highness in referring the petition sent by your Lordship, unto you, who have been so great a friend unto us in this place, so with all cheerfulness we address ourselves to give an account of the whole unto you, which we also do in the enclosed narrative; the truth of the allegations contained in it hath that evi-

dence unto us, as made us willing to undergo the opposition which we promised ourselves from them who were concerned, to continue the corruption mentioned. We can assure your Lordship, our conscience bearing us witness, that were it not merely out of a design and desire to promote the interest of piety, honesty, and learning, and to prevent such evils as must needs provoke the anger of God against the place, and those in it, we should not be by any means induced to engage in so many oppositions—as the crossing of the corrupt self-interests of men do daily put us upon; in the present case the corruption in the college being evident and notorious, our own duty, as sober persons in the university, calling on us to take some course for its prevention for the future, we made the order which is the bottom of the present state of things; which if it take place, the election must be null and the corruption will be removed,

if otherwise, no reformation in such cases by the power of any visitors, can ever be carried on or accomplished. Recommending the concernments of this place to your Lordship's care and favour, we rest

"OXON., *January* 11*th*, 1657,

"Your Lordship's most humble and faithful servants,

* "JOHN CONANT,
"ROBERT HAINS,
"HEN. WILKINSON,
"JAMES BARRON,
"THOMAS GOODWIN,
"JOHN OWEN,
"T. A. OWEN,
"ff. A. HOLWELL." †

This document is endorsed as follows:—

* John Conant was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford at the time.

† Record Office, Dom. Interregnum, Jan. 1657.

"Endorsed 7 more. All: Coll: Halls to be visited.

"Visitors' power such as it was to former visitors.

"Examine what statutes fit to be abrogated, or what to be added.

"Exhibit to His Highness or the Parliament.

"Explain a statute."

The day was fixed for the hearing, but it was not perfectly convenient for all, and another day was chosen, but what was the ultimate result of the appeal nowhere appears.

This, however, suffices to show that there were gross irregularities perpetrated from time to time, and that when the visitors tried to purge the university from them, they were met with great opposition, and were subjected to much annoyance in sustaining the course they adopted.

It was in this same year, 1658, that Oliver Cromwell died, and the nation was once more plunged into civil distraction far worse than any it had ever known.

The Houses of Parliament assembled January 20th, and instead of pursuing a straightforward course, in the interests of the nation at large, debated with singular violence the rights and privileges of the two Houses, and, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances and solicitations of Cromwell, continuing in that course, he dissolved them in February.

At that time the life of the Protector was seriously menaced; a formidable plot was concocted in London to raise a civil war, and proclaim Charles II. king. Disaffected cavaliers congregated in the City from abroad and from different parts of England. Cromwell caused a sudden descent to be made upon the leaders, and amongst those apprehended were Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. John Hewitt.

Slingsby was an uncle of Lord Falconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law. Dr. Hewitt preached at St. Gregory's, near St. Paul's, and Lady Elizabeth Claypole, Cromwell's favourite daughter, conceived a strong interest in his case. Slingsby and Hewitt were beheaded, and three others tried with them were hung. It is true the Lady Claypole interceded with her father for the pardon of Dr. Hewitt, and she probably also interceded at the same time for Sir Henry Slingsby—a kinsman by the marriage of her sister; but Cromwell had much weighter reasons for leaving them to execution; and his refusal to spare them must have been a sore trial to Cromwell, because he knew at the time that his best-loved daughter was almost at the point of death. It is not true, however, as some of the royalist writers have recorded, that she died in the act of upbraiding her father as a man of blood, and prophesying a speedy end to his govern-

ment and life; because four days after Hewitt's execution, she wrote a letter to her sister-in-law in Ireland, the wife of her brother Henry, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, telling her of the insurrection and the death of Hewitt, and saying, that not only would their family have been ruined if Hewitt's plan had prospered, but that "in all probability the whole nation would have been involved in blood."

Lady Claypole then resided at Hampton Court; she had for a long time been an invalid, and her sickness was known to be incurable.

There, cheered by the presence of her children, the company of her husband, the tender care of her mother, and the no less tender concern of her father, she lay the major portion of the summer of 1658, slowly dying. The Protector was incessant in his attendance upon her during the month of July, and his close confinement to her bed-

side contributed to bring on a slight attack of gout. But what was at first thought lightly of, in a few days proved to be a serious disorder, and then all the members of his family who were not far distant, suddenly appeared at Hampton Court Palace. First arrived the Lady Frances, whose face was still wet with the tears of widowhood; she came to be folded to her parents' hearts, and to receive their sympathy, of which she got but a scant portion before many days elapsed. About the middle of July Richard Cromwell arrived: he had been travelling in the west of England, where he was received with honours not a whit inferior to those offered to a king; and he came to Hampton direct from Bristol, where he had been received most honourably. On July 30th Lord Falconberg arrived with the Lady Mary, his bride of a few months.

All the members of Cromwell's own family

in England were gathered together, and several other relatives, including his sister, Mrs. Wilkins, wife of the Bishop of Chester.

The nation was strongly agitated at the time, for fears of civil war were spreading; and there were still greater fears in existence about the health of Oliver Cromwell, for the fact had become known far and wide that he was ill; and no one for many years past had ever allowed it to enter into his imagination that it was possible the great Protector could die.

There was much to be done in the Royal Palace at Hampton, nursing for the sick, comforting for the mourners. There were letters to be sent to those in office at great distances, and especially to Henry, Lord Deputy in Ireland.

The death of Mr. Rich led to a manifestation of strong feeling amongst the members

of the family, and there are letters still extant which prove the members of Cromwell's family to have been united together in the strongest bonds of Christian fellowship and love. Henry wrote sympathising with the relatives of Mr. Rich, and with his sister Frances in her deep affliction.

When he heard of the dangerous illness of his sister, Mrs. Claypole, and of his father's sickness, he sent this message to his mother:—"All the ease I can find is by pouring out my soul before the Lord, which I do incessantly."

The loving caresses of her relatives must have been a great consolation to the Lady Elizabeth; but neither love nor medical skill could avail her, and soon after daybreak on the morning of August 6th, she fell asleep*—that sleep from which there is no more awaking—and deep mourning seized the hearts of

* She died from cancer of the womb.

all that royal family. It was a terrible death-bed, for pain had driven her distracted, and in her madness she is said to have uttered fearful warnings of evil to come—naming as the chief sufferer one who was her most constant nurse—her most loving father.

Cromwell's illness had so far increased at that time, that his spirits gave way, and sickness, combined with grief, kept him a prisoner to his bed for several days. A few days afterwards people found out what were some of the thoughts passing through his great heart at that time. He was chiefly anxious to perform all God's allotted work, and place upon a secure basis the happiness of God's people in England.

The announcement of the death of Lady Elizabeth was made in the newspapers of the day, and thus the *Mercurius Politicus* made the event known to its readers :—"From

Thursday, August 5th, to Thursday, August 12th, 1658. Hampton Court, August 6th. This day, about three o'clock in the morning, it pleased God to put a period to the life of the most illustrious lady, the Lady Elizabeth, second daughter of his Highness the Lord Protector." *

Four days afterwards she was buried in Westminster Abbey; and from the report of the ceremony in the newspapers we obtain the names of those who were present. It was a water funeral, and those who were invited to be present went to Hampton Court in their galleys. The corpse was placed on a galley specially prepared for the occasion, and was accompanied by a large number of others containing persons of "quality and honour." It is a curious and suggestive fact that no description of the funeral mentions whether any religious service was held,

* *Mercurius Politicus.* No. 428, 1658.

either before leaving Hampton Court, or upon arrival at the Abbey. Cromwell was too ill to attend the funeral himself, and Joan, his good wife, was probably ill likewise.

The *Mercurius Politicus* under date August 10th, says:—"This day the corpse [of Lady Elizabeth] was taken to Westminster Abbey. They landed about eleven o'clock at night, and the corpse was carried to the Painted Chamber, which was nobly adorned with mourning, and a stately hearse prepared there whereon to place it. The whole ceremony, though managed without funeral pomp, was nevertheless in all respects such as became the quality of so illustrious and meritorious a lady, whose body was, betwixt twelve and one o'clock in the night, conveyed thence, being attended by the same persons of honour, and interred in Henry VII.'s Chapel, in a vault made on purpose.

This funeral must have been one of a

most impressive character. There was the walk by starlight through the park to the river, the corpse borne by reverend hands; then the mournful pageant on the Thames, the funeral fleet dropping betwixt the silent banks down to the old House of Commons; then the procession into the Painted Chamber, and finally the short walk across Palace Yard, entering the Abbey by the great western portal, passing up the nave and along the choir to the vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel, which had been prepared for her reception, and where her dust still rests in peace.

The *Public Intelligencer*,* dated from Monday, August 9th to Monday, August 16th, 1658, gives the following additional particulars of the procession from the Painted Chamber to the vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel:—

"First went the servants in mourning, two and two. Next, the gentlemen, two and two.

* No. 138.

Then, many persons of office and quality, in mourning, two and two. Next went the heralds or officers of arms. After this came the Body, borne by several Gentlemen in mourning. The Pall was supported by six lords of his Highness' most honourable Privy Council, viz. —the Lord President, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord General Mountague, and Lord Strickland, Lord Follet Jones, and Mr. Secretary. Next the body followed Garter Principal King of Arms, with two gentlemen ushers bare.

"After him an honourable lady, viz.—the Lady Wilkins, sister of His Highness, as Chief Mourner, with a person of Honor on each side to support her, which were the honourable Colonel John and Colonel William Cromwell, near Kinsmen to his Highness. She had also six ladies of honor and quality to be her assistants, who passed two and two; and one to hold up her train.

"Then went other ladies and gentlewomen, all Relations in mourning.

"After these came two gentlemen Ushers bare-headed; then the Most Illustrious the Lord Richard, his Lordship's train being borne by a gentleman.

"A gentleman Usher again. Then Six noble lords, all relations, two and two, viz.—the Lord Fleetwood, and Lord Falconberg; the Lord Disbrowe and Lord Whalley; the Lord John Jones, and Lord Goffe. After them the learned Dr. Wilkins.

"In which decent order as became the dignity of the deceased, they passed to the chapel."

Such was the solemn ceremonial which accompanied the burial of Lady Elizabeth, the favourite daughter of the Great Protector.

CHAPTER X.

1658.

Growing Disorders in the Kingdom—The Council of State—Cromwell arrives at Whitehall—Relapse of Cromwell—Conduct of the Chaplains—Cromwell's Sayings—Goodwin's Prayer—Cromwell's Last Prayer—His Death—Consternation in Whitehall—The Savoy Conference of Independents.

FROM the time when illness seized Oliver Cromwell down to his death, there was only a short interval of health. He was too ill to be present at the funeral of his daughter; and the blow was felt most keenly by him. Nor was that a period when the Protector could be long spared from the Council of State; on every hand there were distinct signs of growing disorders threatening the peace of the nation, and further complications

were growing up with regard to that most difficult of all subjects—the religious belief of the nation. Day after day the intelligence of Cromwell's health was looked forward to with increasing interest. The death of Lady Claypole occasioned widespread mourning in England, for the whole nation appeared to sorrow with the Lord Protector on his loss. On the 17th of August it was announced at Whitehall, that the Protector had gone out that day for a walk, and when the news was spread throughout London, there was an unanimous burst of joy. A few more days elapsed of sweet wandering about the wilds of Bushy Park amongst the deer; and then Cromwell came to the conclusion that he was so far convalescent as to be able to resume his place at the Council of State.

It was on the 24th of August that he left Hampton Court—never more to return thither—and taking water, was rowed in

gallant style down the Thames to Whitehall.

When the next numbers of the London weekly and fortnightly newspapers were published, it was duly chronicled with great rejoicing, that Cromwell had so far recovered from his illness, as to be able to return to Whitehall to business. Yet at the very time when those newspapers were travelling throughout the country in the post-bags Cromwell was again lying ill in bed—sick this time, indeed, unto death. By the manner in which State affairs fell out upon his death, it was evident that the Council of State was accustomed to leave the initiation and direction of everything of importance to Cromwell; for when he was struck down with illness the second time, every one appeared to be bewildered—no one seemed to know what to do. The first question they debated was as to who should be Cromwell's successor; and

they resolved to ask him to name one himself. The Council books show that there were several matters pressing of importance affecting the trade and commerce of the country; but these were all postponed, for the solution of the important question of a succession.

It is not exactly known from what illness he was suffering at the time. Some say it was ague, others that it was fever. But it is certain that he suffered much, and for several nights at a time he could get no sleep.

The Council of State sat constantly, and the physicians watched, with his wife and several other members of his family, beside Cromwell's bed. Sometimes in an ante-room, and at other times in his chamber, Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, and Peter Sterry waited, praying to God for the recovery of the great chief. Occasionally they prayed with Cromwell, and answered such questions as he put to them. Amongst those who were frequently in his

bed-chamber at this time were many who, by afterwards relating what they saw and heard, have done much to preserve a faithful picture of the terrible scene. Two men, who were afterwards drawn away to the service of King Charles II., have left it on record that the chaplains did not pray as became humble suppliants craving a favour from God, but that in their prayers they talked with God, telling Him what great things Cromwell had done for Him and for His people, and how utterly impossible it was that they could spare him at that time, because the work he was upon was not then done; and then rising from their knees, these same chaplains were said to have announced, in confident terms, that the great Protector would not at that time die.

Day after day elapsed, and still Cromwell's life hung suspended in the balance. At one time he had brief periods of calm and rest, and would converse quietly with those about

him on affairs of state, or with members of his family on private matters. At another time, incapable of conversation, with eyes closed as if asleep, short passages of Scripture would escape his lips, and a few he would repeat over and over again, as though there was music in the words.

In his bedroom, amongst others, was a faithful servant named Underwood, who was Groom of the Chamber; and he did more than any one else to preserve for posterity a picture of the last days of his great master. With a pencil and note-book always at hand, he jotted down the sayings that fell from the dying man's lips. These are some of them:— "The Covenants were two, but put into one, before the foundation of the world." Again: "I think I am the poorest wretch that lives. But I love God, or rather, am beloved of God. I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me." Again:

"Truly God is good, indeed he is; he will not [leave me]. I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and His people, but my work is done: yet God will be with His people."

Dr. Thomas Goodwin was hastily summoned to Whitehall when Cromwell's second illness commenced; and it is to him that the Earl of Clarendon directly alludes in speaking of the ministers telling the Almighty what great things Cromwell had done for Him, and how much more need God had of his services on earth.

The following summary of Dr. Goodwin's prayer has also been preserved by one who heard it:*—"We have asked not for his life; for we were assured Thou hadst too great things for this man to do, to remove him yet; but we pray for his speedy recovery, because his life and presence are so necessary to diverse

* "Life of Oliver Cromwell," 1200, d. 11, p. 404, Brit. Mus.

things which are of great moment to be despatched."

The chaplains and the officers seemed to have shared the same certain belief in Cromwell's recovery; and it was only after many days had passed from the day when his relapse commenced that the Council of State began to be uneasy as to the succession. All Cromwell's relatives were about him, except his second son, who was Lord Deputy of Ireland, and with him constant correspondence was maintained every week. General Fleetwood, General Whalley, and General Goffe were amongst those who had free access to his bedside. Cromwell died on Friday, September 3rd, and on the Monday preceding he was asked who should be his successor. At that moment Dr. Goodwin, Generals Whalley and Goffe, Lord Falconberg, and several others were present, and heard the question asked, and heard him reply, "Richard."

He was perfectly composed at the time, and named his son without the least hesitation.

Day after day passed wearily, and still the man of iron frame lingered.

One day, tortured with mental doubts, he beckoned one of his chaplains to his side. Some say it was Goodwin, others that it was Sterry. We are inclined to think it was Goodwin, because he was the only chaplain examined by the Council of State after the death of Cromwell as to what he had said in his illness. Cromwell asked him, in a hoarse whisper, Whether a man was safe if he had once been in a state of grace?

That is the sum of all religious questioning: after all, "Is my soul saved?"

Goodwin replied: "Such a man is saved for ever."

The question and the answer have been twisted in a variety of ways, to try and make

them signify what was never intended by question or answer. That question of Cromwell's was best understood by him who answered it: the rest we leave to them and to God.

The morning of September 3rd that year dawned amid a storm of wind, the like of which had not been known for many years. It was Cromwell's day of "Crowning Mercies," and it had for many years been observed by him as a day of special thanksgiving; for on two occasions upon that day he had hurled the Lord's enemies headlong to destruction. For several preceding days, there had been signs of a coming storm, and a great whale was stranded and killed in the Thames. The storm was universal—it prevailed both on land and sea—and its violence culminated on September 3rd. In the country huge trees were torn up by their roots, and flung across roadways. In London the streets were

covered with tiles, and with masses of bricks from broken chimneys. Houses were ruined in all exposed portions of streets, and many lives were lost. During the height of the storm Cromwell died; and when his death was known, people said to one another—"We ought to have known what was about to happen, for did not the big whale typify the great Protector?"

But with Cromwell all was peace during the storm. The wind howled and raged around old Whitehall, screaming and hissing amongst the corridors, but Cromwell's heart was at peace. In the very height of the storm, at dead of midnight, his faithful Groom of the Chamber heard his dying master at prayer, and plucking out his note-book, he jotted down what he heard—words pronounced in vigorous, stately English: the last expiring effort of the great soul was to address the throne of Infinite Majesty on behalf of

the people of England. This is what he heard:—

"Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will come to Thee for Thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish, and would be glad of, my death. Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good to them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too. And pardon the

folly of this short prayer: even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen."

Cromwell quietly sank, and at three o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, September 3rd, his spirit passed away.

That storm was emblematical of what followed upon the death of Cromwell. The nation—that is to say the great majority of the people—appeared stricken down with him; and in the confusion that followed, were overridden before they could fully appreciate the dangers that threatened them. The liberties for which they had fought, and almost won, were again imperilled: persecutions, imprisonments, cruelties of every kind were practised upon them, until after long years of suffering God gave the nation by a bloodless revolution, those gifts of liberty for which they had so long and gallantly struggled.

As soon as it was known that Cromwell was really dead, consternation took possession of those in Whitehall.* Dr. Goodwin, falling upon his knees in prayer, exclaimed —"O Lord! Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived." Words found in Jeremiah—chap. xx. v. 7—words of inexpressible agony.†

The members of the Council of State assembled immediately, and took steps at once to direct the helm of State.

Guizot, in his Life of Richard Cromwell, states that Dr. Goodwin, with Generals Whalley and Goffe, attested upon oath before the Privy Council, that Oliver had nominated Richard his eldest son as his successor.

* Dr. Halley's Memoir.

† Southey says:—"When his (Cromwell's) death was announced, Sterry exclaimed, 'Do not be troubled, for it is good news! Because, if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions.'"

There is no memorandum in existence of such a Council meeting having been held. The great fact was that Oliver was dead, and that absorbed every other feeling in one great throb of anguish.

The evil news spread rapidly. It was carried abroad by English vessels; and he who was one of the most interested in the event soon heard of it, and took measures at once to secure what he claimed as his own.

There was one thing which Cromwell ordered a few months before his death—unwillingly, it is stated—which was the very next thing to which Dr. Goodwin turned his attention, that was a Conference of Independents, in order to agree upon a declaration of their faith and discipline.

A preliminary meeting was held in June, and on September 29th, while Cromwell

still lay unburied, two hundred delegates, representing one hundred and twenty churches, met and appointed Goodwin, Owen, Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill, to draw up a confession of their faith and order. Goodwin was largely engaged in drawing up this confession; and eventually, at a meeting held in the Savoy, October, 12th, it was unanimously approved and published by them as a declaration by the Congregational Churches of England.

CHAPTER XI.

1658.

Proclamation of Richard Cromwell—Appointment of a Fast Day—Goodwin one of the Preachers—The Lord Mayor visits the new Protector—Dr. Goodwin offers Prayer—Quietness in the Nation—Dr. Goodwin heads a Deputation to the Protector, and delivers an Address.

WE must proceed by steps until the day when the formal adoption of the Confession of Faith entailed another duty on the part of Goodwin. The first thing to be done on the death of Oliver Cromwell was to proclaim his successor, and the next was to arrange for the funeral of the great Protector. No time was lost in proclaiming Richard Cromwell. The Council of State held a meeting, they satisfied themselves that Crom-

well was dead, and they were also satisfied that he had named his eldest son, Richard, as his successor; and without loss of time they resolved that Richard should be proclaimed at once.

Richard and his mother were then in Whitehall, and, fresh from the presence of the great dead man, were consumed with grief. After several hours had passed, the Council thought it advisable to have an interview with the new Protector. Things were in a critical state in England at that time.

About eight o'clock in the evening of the day of Cromwell's death, the Lord Chamberlain was dispatched by the Lords of the Privy Council to announce to Richard Cromwell that it was the intention of the Council to have him proclaimed without delay as the Lord Protector of the realm.

When they entered the chamber of mourning the Lord President made a short speech

to the new Protector elect, and, in answer to the question, he signified it to be his intention to accept the office tendered to him. The oath of office was then administered to Richard Cromwell in accordance with the terms framed for the second installation of his father in Westminster Hall.

Practically, Richard Cromwell was then Lord Protector of England.

The same day the Council resolved, "That Friday next be appointed for a day of fasting and humiliation in sense of the hand of God in taking away the late Lord Protector, and to seek the Lord on behalf of his Highness the new Lord Protector, and to beg a blessing on him and his Government; and Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Hook, Mr. Griffith, Dr. Goodwin, and Mr. Sterry, are desired to carry on the work of the day."

Next morning the heralds, accompanied by a few soldiers, started out upon their work of

proclaiming the new Lord Protector. At nine o'clock they placed themselves before Whitehall; here the Lords of the Council of State showed themselves at an open window, and acknowledged the obeisance of the heralds; and then, with blast of trumpet and sonorous voice, proclamation was made of the new Lord Protector—Richard, eldest son of Oliver Cromwell.

From thence the heralds passed to Palace Yard, Westminster, and woke the echoes far and near with the announcement; and so, in like manner, round the City they went proclaiming the Lord Protector. From Palace Yard to Chancery Lane, thence to Wood Street, and finally at the Exchange. Crowds flocked the streets, and trouble was apparent in every countenance.

As soon as the work of proclaiming was ended, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, "in their formalities," proceeded to Whitehall to

make dutiful acknowledgments in the name of the City to his Highness.

This was about four o'clock in the afternoon. Theirs was a double object, for they not only came to make their allegiance known but also to condole with the new Protector upon the death of his father. On reaching the palace they were ushered into a room.

The Council of State met together, and after a while their lordships, together with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, being admitted to his Highness's presence in a large room, the Lord Mayor presented the City sword to his Highness, which he received, and immediately returned it into the hand of the Lord Mayor.*

After some other ceremonies passed, "Dr. Thomas Goodwin stood forth and prayed unto the Lord for a blessing upon his Highness's

* *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 342. Sept. 9th, 1658.

person, his Government, his forces by sea and land, and upon all the people of these nations, &c.; which, being ended, the most noble Nathanael, Lord Fiennes, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, and one of his Highness's most honourable Privy Council, administered the oath to his Highness."

That ceremony ended, the Lord Mayor and his friends went away.

Thus passed the day after the death of Oliver Cromwell. The new Protector had been hailed by the Lords of the Council and the Lord Mayor, the heralds had proclaimed him, and just as twilight was clothing the City with a mantle of russet grey, the Tower guns fired a salute. There was one who heard the salute, and counted the number of guns fired, and put it on record in the newspaper of the day, from whence we have taken the fact now, that one hundred

rounds announced the change that had taken place.

It had been effected with so much suddenness that all classes of the community were dumb with astonishment. All wranglings and jealousies were hushed, even the army officers were silent for a time, and the Parliament men and the Council had nothing to distract their attention from the state of the kingdom.

Secretary Thurloe, writing to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, upon the proclamation of his brother Richard in England, expressed his astonishment at the calm that prevailed. He said, "There is not a dog that wags his tongue, so great a calm are we in."

But it was the calm that precedes a tempest. Before long the bulwarks that Oliver and his party had been building up were too rudely levelled with the ground again by the incoming of a king.

There were rumours that Oliver Cromwell

had intended some one other than his eldest son to succeed to the throne, but nothing can be found to justify such an assertion, and one of the first things that the Council resolved upon was to offer to make Henry Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, instead of Lord Deputy, as a mark of their appreciation of the services which he had rendered to the country.

Three days after the death of Oliver Cromwell a solemn fast was kept, and Dr. Goodwin was one of those who took part in the services of the day. All the details respecting that fast have been lost. Could we only have seen a copy of that sermon of Goodwin's, what might we not have learned of Oliver Cromwell in it, uttered by one who was personally intimate with him, a friend of many years?

In the month of June, it will be remembered, Oliver Cromwell gave unwilling permission to the Independents to hold a con-

ference. When the declaration of the conference, which met in the Savoy, was ready, Oliver Cromwell was dead; but it was determined that a deputation from the body, headed by Dr. Goodwin, should present the result of the work to Richard Cromwell.

This was done on the 14th of October, and the proceedings are thus reported in the *Mercurius Politicus** :—

"This day was an address to his Highness by the officers and messengers of above a hundred Congregational Churches from several parts of the nation, in whose names and by their appointment, Dr. Goodwin, President of Magdalen College in Oxford, a pastor of a church there, represented their humble acknowledgment and most affectionate duty to his Highness in a speech to this effect:

"We come with hearty acknowledgment of the past liberties enjoyed under your High-

* No. 438.

ness' now blessed Father, the valuation of which mercy hath been demonstrated in the face of the whole world, in that almost a nation out of this nation, quitting the inducements of their native country, removed 3000 miles by sea to the inconveniences of an howling desert, as the Savoyan Protestants did curtiently * to the Cracow mountains. And this perfectly to enjoy all ordinances in their purity, as we, according to the measure of our Light, have had liberty to do. The greatness of which priviledge, with their brethren of the same principles, do estimate by the judgment which God himself hath made thereof. That though His people eat the bread of adversity, and drink the water of affliction, yet if they dwell at Zion [that is, to enjoy fellowship with saints in purity of worship] in Jerusalem, and their teachers are not removed into corners, but their eyes do see their Teachers as ours do

* Should read "anciently."

this day; then, the Holy Ghost ministers not an higher priviledge, no, not when God professes to be gracious to His people. But our condition [my Lord] exceedeth this supposition, we have not eaten the Bread of Adversity, nor drunk the water of affliction, but have served God in abundance of all things in our own land. All which mercies have been continued unto us, thorow the protection of the great Mordecai, that sought the weal of his people, and spoke peace to all his seed. Blessed be God for His unspeakable covenant. And first in our several congregations we have not ceased to offer up a sacrifice of praise to God singly, so we are here come joyntly to acknowledge it to your Highness. We all come full of rejoicing, yea, blessing God for so happy and quiet a settlement of the nations and Government in your person and success. Solomon though he had his name from Peace, yet was not

his first entrance so peaceable as this of yours.

"We also give your Highness an account of our Meeting. The rise of it was at the last Oxford Act, where many of us Ministers being present [more than at any other time before] we appointed September 29th for this our more general meeting at the Savoy, which was made known to, and approved by your Royal Father. At which we in the first place judged it most conducible to clear ourselves of that scandal, which not only some persons at home, but of foreign parts, have passed upon us, viz., that Indepentism [as they call it] is the sink of all Heresies and Schisms. We have therefore declared what hath been our constant Faith and Order, to be published to the World. And to show our harmony with the most orthodox at home and abroad, we have expressed our assent to that Phase of Faith which is the latest and best; the sum of the

Confession of all Reformed churches, to which all the Churches of Scotland and New England have given their assent; namely, the articles of religion approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines, to which Confession for the substance of it, we have unanimously and through the Grace of Christ, without the least contradiction, assented and agreed.

"We have also with the same unanimity declared in matter of Order [that is, in Church Constitution and Government], and have set forth the main of our Principles and Practice; in which where we differ there are Brethren will appear. We have also laid some foundations of agreement with them, which we have from our hearts desired and endeavoured.

"And now we present to your Highness what we have done, and commit to your trust the Faith once delivered to the Saints. The

Gospel, and the Saving truths of it, being a National endowment bequeathed by Christ himself at His ascension, and committed to the trust of some in the Nation's behalf—'committed to my trust,' saith Paul—in the name of the ministers: and we look at the magistrate as *Custos utriusque tabulæ*, and so commit it to your trust as our Chief Magistrate, to countenance and propagate. And as we are bold to commit it as a trust to you, so in reciprocation we come to engage ourselves to pray for your Highness both in private, and in our publick assemblies; and bless you out of Zion in your person with all saving graces, and the increase of those especially which rested on your holy Father; a praying Spirit, a spirit of communication with God, love to all the Saints, and living by faith in all his affairs: With all God would give you wisdom, courage, steadiness to go in and out before this great people; An understanding heart to discern between good

and evil in things and persons, and to approve only what is more excellent, and to Bless you Likewise in your Relation, Children, Family; in your Affairs, Counsels, Armies, at home and abroad, and give you to see good days and peace upon Israel."

"The speech," the newspaper proceeds to say, "[which was much larger] being ended, his Highness very affectionately declared his acceptation of the service and the duty tendred; and how dearly his heart is engaged in the concernments of Christ and his Gospel; and how fully resolved he is to encourage and carry on the work of Reformation in the greatest purity; with many other most holy and prudent expressions, to the very great comfort and satisfaction, not only of those grave and godly persons that made this Address, but to all that were present."

That address is unique, and the estimation in which Dr. Goodwin was held at that time

may be inferred from the fact that his speech is given at so great length. He had not only stood near the throne of the Protector, but he represented an important party in the State; and that was the reason why he was suffered to stand before the public at such a time as this, and tell the new Protector what were the doctrines and feelings of the Independents.

The address is very characteristic of Goodwin: it is wide, broad, deep. The doctrines are laid down without hesitation, and they are set forth as the doctrines of a section of the State that had not up to that time had fair play given them, and whose opinions had been grossly and maliciously misrepresented.

CHAPTER XII.

1658—1659.

City Deputation—Address from the Army—Preparations for the Funeral of Cromwell—List of Persons invited—Scene in the Streets—No Funeral Service performed—List of Ministers invited.

ON the same day that Dr. Goodwin delivered the address to Richard Cromwell, another deputation waited upon the Protector from the City magnates. The last hurried visit made by the Mayor when the City sword was surrendered to him, and he saw and heard the oath administered to the Protector, was to a certain extent an informal one; but the second was a much more imposing affair. The *Mercurius Politicus*[*]

[*] No. 433.

is again our authority for what took place:—"The Lord Mayor and the City of London, together with the body of the City, went to Whitehall to his Highness, where, by the mouth of Sir Lislebore, their Recorder, they expressed their duty to the new Protector."

No doubt the visit gave much satisfaction to the new Protector; and the assurances of devotion from all parts of the country were very welcome, with that untried king so near at hand scheming to cross the Channel.

So the Lord Mayor was duly welcomed, and the Recorder made a learned speech, and Richard was all smiles, and every one hoped for a revival of trade and commercial prosperity, with peace at home and abroad.

Four days afterwards, another address was presented to the new Protector, for want of which there had been a good deal of anxiety excited, and at last matters seemed as though they were going to wear along smoothly and

pleasantly. This was an address from the army, presented by Lord Charles Fleetwood —those terrible army men, with their sturdy independence, which had plunged them into many broils, and was thereafter to do again.

All this time the dead body of Oliver Cromwell was lying in a chamber at Whitehall, and week after week the Council discussed the arrangements for the funeral. By the time at which we have now arrived all the details were settled. Oliver Cromwell was to have a great funeral, the whole nation was to be represented at the ceremony, and the expenses were to be paid by the Parliament. Although we have many interesting details relating to the funeral, yet of the chief points we know nothing. It is matter of doubt when the body was interred in Westminster Abbey, or how it was interred there, and it was uncertain for many years whether he really was buried there, or in some other

place, the clue to which had never been discovered.

There is, however, no doubt now that the body was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the vault at the east end of Henry VII.'s Chapel, that it was disinterred by order of Charles II., that it was hung up to a gallows at Tyburn, that it was decapitated—the trunk being burnt—while the head for twenty years hung upon a spike above the roof of Westminster Hall.

On September 20th the body was removed at night to Somerset House for the purpose of lying in state. It was placed in a magnificent hearse, harnessed with six horses, and with slow and stately step it was removed to Somerset House, where it lay in state. The poor wasted corpse was dressed in rich and costly clothes, a crown of gold was placed upon his head, a sceptre in his hand, and thus he lay for several weeks.

An effigy was also prepared of him, and when at last the body was screwed down, the effigy was set upright arrayed in royal apparel, and standing under a canopy covered with regal emblems; it thus remained several more weeks until the day for the funeral came.

It is even now believed that the corpse was buried in Westminster about a month before the funeral, and that in the procession they only dragged the stuffed effigy upon the hearse to the Abbey door.

The Council of State superintended the funeral themselves.

The mourners were divided into companies; each company being composed of persons occupying the same position in society or in the State.

With regard to the display there was a magnificent hearse, covered with a gorgeous panoply, decorated with flags and banners,

and adorned with gold fringe. The effigy was arrayed in a rich Spanish suit, a gold crown was set on the head, and a sceptre in the right hand; while the armour worn by Cromwell lay about the effigy. The horses attached to the hearse were covered with black velvet, reaching nearly to the ground, and their heads were surmounted with nodding plumes. On each side of the horses walked noblemen, carrying the great banners of the three kingdoms. Flags, banners, bannerols, and streamers figured in hundreds, each one held by a man of note or well-known name.

The streets were barricaded from Somerset House to Westminster, the rails were lined with soldiers, and at the opening of every street was a company of mounted soldiers.

Each company of mourners was preceded by a horse draped in black, a man carrying a great banner, trumpeters, and drums.

All classes were represented. There were soldiers who had fought under Cromwell at Worcester and at Naseby, poor old pensioners and almsmen, members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, judges, generals, and officers; admirals and captains, detachments of men and officers from all departments of Government; physicians, poets—John Milton was amongst them; ministers—Hugh Peters was there, and that day he walked over the spot where, a few months afterwards, he was hung, drawn, and quartered; and many another memorable man whose chances of promotion in life, and opportunity for doing good, died out with the death of the great Protector.

With blare of trumpet and roll of drum, and note of muffled bell, one bleak day in November, the funeral procession started from Somerset House, on its way to Westminster Abbey.

The streets were crowded with people struggling together to look upon the waxen face of the dead Protector, and upon his dinted helm.

The chief mourner had two attendants, he was supported by two earls, five peers bore his train, and he had fourteen assistants either earls or barons.

Lord Claypole, following the corpse, led the horse of honour.

This was the state in which the procession moved along the Strand, round by Charing Cross, by Whitehall, to the great west door of the Abbey. Here the coffin with the effigy was borne with slow and solemn step along the nave up to the altar, where it was placed upon another hearse awaiting it. From thence in due time it was borne to the vault behind Henry VII.'s monument, where the poor corpse rested until by order of a vindictive king it was dug up and sent to Tyburn.

We do not know what kind of ceremony took place in Westminster Abbey.

There are about * thirty sheets of paper in the Public Record Office containing the rough list of names of those to be invited to the funeral. This was prepared at meetings of the Council of State. One sheet bears the names of the ministers to be invited, and they are as follows:—

† Dr. Thos. Goodwin.	
Dr. Jno. Owen.	
Thankfull Owen.	John Tombes.
† Dr. Arrowsmith.	Walter Craddock.
Dr. Tuckney.	Sam. Fairclough.
Dr. Horton.	† Sam. Bamford.
Joseph Caryl.	Thos. Valentine [? dead].
Philip Nye.	Dan Dyk.
Wm. Greenhill.	George Griffith.
Tho. Manton.	John Turner.
Sam. Slater.	† Thos. Wood.
Wm. Cooper.	Wm. Jesse.

* No. 405.

† The names with an obelisk prefixed are marked through with lines in the original MS.

But the name of Dr. Thomas Goodwin is struck through with the pen, probably after the list was completed; and the paper gives no clue as to the reason why this was done. We could not find his name elsewhere; and came to the conclusion that his name was struck from the list of those to walk because he was wanted in some other place. What could have been the work reserved for him in another place? Surely if any was assigned to him, it must have been to offer prayer over the grave of Cromwell. But this is conjecture only. We have read every newspaper published at the time containing an account of the funeral, and there is no mention in any of them of any religious service having been performed. No mention of any religious service appears in the Abbey books; no one who happened to witness the funeral and left a record of what he saw, says anything about a religious service; and although the pro-

bability is strong in favour of Dr. Thomas Goodwin having performed the burial service, yet it is not certain; and probably we shall never know whether any service was held over Cromwell's remains or not.

In the Abbey on that dark November day, Cromwell was laid in a vault, amidst the universal sobs and groans of the people he had loved, and whose love he had won, and we part with him there as they did in the confident belief that * "less could not be performed to the memory of him, to whom posterity will pay [when envy is laid asleep by time] more honour than they were able to express."

* *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 443.

CHAPTER XIII.

1658—1659.

Death of Dorothy Cromwell—The New Parliament—Dr. Goodwin preaches to the Parliament at the Abbey—Charles II. takes possession of the Throne—Exhumation of the Bodies of the Cromwellians—Suspension of Cromwell's Effigy outside Whitehall.

THE funeral of the great Protector took place on November 23rd, 1658; and death came again to the house of Cromwell on December 14th. On this occasion it was the little Lady Dorothy, the infant daughter of the new Protector, who was taken away. She died at Hursley, and the Court Recorder of the day says "it was entertained with much sorrow of mind" by her parents. It was natural that it should be so, poor little

darling! but there were other things now—affairs of State—to occupy the attention of her father.

The air was filled with the sounds of a coming struggle, for it was known that Charles II. was indeed coming, and he was then only waiting for a fitting opportunity.

There was no time to be lost about the new Parliament; it was hoped that it would set all things right. January 27th, 1659, was the day fixed for the opening of the Parliament. Just as in the previous reign, so then, it was decided to begin with prayer and a sermon; and this brings us to the last occasion on which Dr. Goodwin was called upon to preach before the Parliament men.

On the day appointed, Richard Cromwell went from Whitehall in a new galley to the Houses of Parliament; and there he was met by a large number of the members of the House of Commons, and by all the Lords of

the Council, and they walked in procession to the Abbey Church.

Here for the last time that we shall ever hear of him in church or realm, in an official capacity, Dr. Goodwin conducted the service and preached the sermon. He had preached to many a Parliament before that; and the sweet persuasiveness of his style was very much appreciated by his hearers. This, his last great public sermon, as it may be termed, has passed into oblivion; not even the text has survived to the present time. No doubt he exhorted them, as he had done their predecessors, to persevere with the work of reform, and to give to all God's people liberty.

In that same grand old Abbey in which he had preached before in the hearing of Oliver Cromwell, and where the great Protector then lay dead, Dr. Goodwin once more, and for the last time, raised his voice in the hearing of the Parliament men.

With the close of that service ended Goodwin's official life, but the great work that he did amongst the men of the Protectorate long survived his active connection with Government, and produced permanent results, the benefits of which we are enjoying at the present time.

When the sermon was ended the members of Parliament returned to the House of Lords, when Richard Cromwell made an address to those present. But speeches and Parliaments were of little use where a strong head and hand were wanting.

As the months glided on it was felt by every one that the return of Charles was inevitable. At length the army officers quarrelled with the Parliament men, and in 1660 Charles II. landed; and though much had been done by Oliver Cromwell and his party, yet a great deal more was unfinished, and nothing was secured. So that the great

labour of the Cromwellian period, as far as the social life and liberty of England was concerned, fell to pieces.

How it came to pass that all the old friends of the party disappeared, it is not necessary here to tell. Civil and religious liberty were not yet won: there were years of severe persecution to come, years of patient suffering, years of earnest prayer, before the nation entered upon the enjoyment of those civil and religious rights upon the attainment of which it had set its heart.

When Charles II. secured the throne, one of the first things ordered was the exhumation of the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton and Bradshaw. The King also ordered the bodies of very many other Cromwellians to be exhumed, and re-interred in a pit dug in St. Margaret's Churchyard. Mrs. Claypole's was the only corpse that was allowed to remain where it was buried, in the Chapel of Henry VII.

At midsummer, 1660, Charles gave the Londoners an opportunity of having a laugh at the expense of the dead Protector; for having found the effigy with its waxen face, which was used at the funeral, in a room at Whitehall, he caused it to be suspended from an iron bar in front of a window—a spectacle for all who went by.

The attempts made by Charles to root up Puritanism, extinguish meeting-houses, and reduce all to one common level of thought, and form, and feeling, were utterly without avail. The liberty godly men had enjoyed was too deeply rooted to be extinguished by the King and the Parliament, and England was called upon to witness a revival of torture of many kinds, inflicted exclusively upon the most godly people in the nation. People holding good social positions were ruined by fines imposed upon them for allowing religious services to be held in their houses, and for

being present at such services. When there was no more property to be taken, then the men and women themselves were taken and imprisoned. Families were ruined and scattered abroad; many good men died in gaols —martyrs for their faith. Ministers were made the special objects of persecution. They had to fly from their homes and families, and hide in country places, returning home once a month, and that in the night-time, just for a kiss from the loved ones, and then away again, while night still lingered, to wander for more weeks. Religious services were then held in secret places, often at night, so that the preacher might not be captured by spies. Thus the godly were made the prey of evil men; and, notwithstanding all the persecution to which they were subjected, they maintained their ground and were faithful even unto death.

There are a few more facts about Dr. Good-

win to be mentioned before we part from him for ever. As the difficulties in the State increased, godly men and women began to prepare themselves as well as they were able for the storm that was approaching them. The question as to who should be king was of little moment compared with the preservation of liberty of thought and worship, which they had been enjoying.

Changes were made in the schools, the colleges, and the universities, as soon as the King returned. Dr. Goodwin, it is supposed, resigned his position as Master of Magdalen, and came to London once more. There accompanied him upon that occasion the chief members of his Oxford gathered church. Upon reaching London he found that his first congregation—the one from which the City Temple springs—was happily settled under the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Mallery, and upon the recommendation of his friends

he began preaching in a little meeting-house in Fetter Lane.

There the members of his Oxford congregation rallied round him, and formed a new colony for mutual protection and edification.

While preaching to this new congregation, Dr. Goodwin also directed the studies of several of the members.

Of the number of those who came to London with Dr. Goodwin, many afterwards entered the ministry.

No sooner was the King fairly seated upon the throne than petitions began pouring in upon the King for the restoration of old benefices to clergy who had been turned out of their livings under Cromwell's Protectorship; and every Puritan preacher who had received a fellowship under Cromwell was fastened upon by one or more clergy, who clamoured before the King for the appointment the Puritan possessed.

Dr. Goodwin was deprived of a fellowship he held at Eton College, which was bestowed by petition upon Dr. Matthew Griffith in 1660.*

On the assembling of the new Parliament, Act after Act was passed with a view to extinguish the Puritans and suppress the growth of denominations outside the pale of the Church.

Dr. Goodwin appears to have escaped imprisonment, although he suffered from fines. The spies had their eyes upon him, there is no doubt; because the reports of some of them relating to him are still in existence in the Public Record Office. One such report gives a very interesting sketch of Goodwin's personal appearance, and of his mode of worship. Although there is no record of his having been imprisoned, he was thrown into pecuniary difficulties, probably from the fines

* State Papers, Dom. Charles II., 1660.

imposed upon him; for the fact is preserved, and to her honour it should now be told, that one of the members of his church, a Mrs. Grimes, who had been a hearer before he went to Oxford, knowing that he was in difficulties in his old age, paid the rent of his house again and again.* Goodwin was then residing, says the spy, "in the fields on the left hand near Moorgate where the Quarters stand, and meets often with Dr. Owen." Mrs. Grimes was a widow, and it is said of her, that within six months of her husband's death, she paid in fines for personal friends of hers no less a sum than £800—equivalent to about £4,000 in the present day.

In 1664 the Great Plague visited London, and almost depopulated the City. The Court and all the wealthy people fled into the country; the King fled, the judges fled, the newly returned clergy abandoned their con-

* Spy Book. Public Record Office.

gregations, and only the poor and the Dissenting ministers were left. During the prevalence of the plague the Dissenters re-entered the City churches, and preached to crowded congregations. An immense amount of good was done, and much honour was awarded to the noble men who had braved death at such a time, and remained to minister to the poor people. We know nothing of Dr. Goodwin during this period, but there is no doubt he remained at his post doing his duty.

This event was followed two years afterwards by the Great Fire, in which Dr. Goodwin lost about one-half his library, valued at £500. One-half was situated close to where the fire began, and that was saved by the personal exertions of his excellent friend, Mr. Moses Lowman; while the part destroyed was in Bread Street, a long distance from where the fire broke out. Meditating upon his loss led

him to write and publish a discourse on "Patience and its Perfect Work," which has been recently reprinted.

Facts concerning Dr. Goodwin get fewer as the years of his life draw to an end.

In 1672 he was living in Cripplegate, and he applied for a licence to preach in his own house, under the privileges of the short indulgence granted in that year by Charles II.

During the last six or eight years of his life he closeted himself with his books and his friends.

He was now an old man, but he still preached Sunday after Sunday, and still attracted about him a goodly company of religious people, who were delighted to listen to his expositions. His appeals were as tender as in earlier years, and the application of a loving Saviour to a sorrowing soul as persistent as ever.

At this period Thomas Mallery, who was

pastor of Goodwin's first gathered church, died. He took no active part in the public transactions of those times, and of his work as a minister we know nothing. He was a faithful minister, and the congregation continued a large one to the day of his death. Mr. Mallery was succeeded by the Rev. John Collins, sen., who received his academical education in Harvard College, Cambridge, New England. Upon the establishment of a lecture at Pinner's Hall in 1672, he and Dr. Owen were selected amongst six preachers. Mr. Collins and the members of his church were constant visitors of Goodwin's, and by their loving tokens cheered him in his old age. Visiting him on one occasion during his last illness, Mr. Collins "offered up this petition," says Goodwin's son: "That God would return into his bosom all those comforts which he had by his ministry of free grace poured into so many distressed souls." "My

dear father," proceeds his son, "felt this prayer answered in the abundant comforts and joys with which he was filled." Then he thus proceeds to describe his father's latest moments:—"He rejoiced in the thought that he was dying, and going to have a full and uninterrupted communion with God. 'I am going,' said he, 'to the Three Persons, with whom I have had communion; they have taken me, I did not take them. I shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye; all my lusts and corruptions I shall be rid of, which I could not be here; those croaking toads will fall off in a moment.' And mentioning those great examples of faith, Heb. xi., 'All these,' said he, 'died in faith. I could never have imagined it. My bow abides in strength. Is Christ divided? No. I have the whole of his righteousness; I am found in Him, not in my own righteousness, which is of the law, but in the righteousness which

is of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, who loved me, and gave Himself for me. Christ cannot love me better than He doth; I think I cannot love Christ better than I do: I am swallowed up in God.' Directing his speech to his two sons, he exhorted them to value the privilege of the covenant. 'It hath taken hold on me,' said he; 'my mother was a holy woman; she spake nothing diminishing of it. It is a privilege that cannot be valued enough, nor purchased with a great sum of money,' alluding to the words of the chief captain to Paul, Acts xxii. 28. Then he exhorted them to be careful that they did nothing to provoke God to reject them. 'Now,' said he, 'I shall be ever with the Lord.' With this assurance of faith, and fulness of joy, his soul left this world. . . . He died February 23, 1679, in the eightieth year of his age."

He could look back upon a life spent

amidst very varied scenes. For a long time he stood very near the throne, and was associated with the leaders of the Government; and he had no sorrowful regrets in the retrospection. He had helped to establish Independency on a firm basis, and to give it the colour and form it now possesses. He had pleaded and struggled for civil and religious liberty, and in later years had suffered rather than surrender his rights in those respects. He had ever been the friend of the friendless, the help of the helpless, the defender of the defenceless, when persecuted; and was ever ready to point unhappy hearts to the source of all consolation. Nor were his written discourses lightly esteemed or soon forgotten; they still survive, and a modern edition of them has taken a high place in the wealth of works that has descended to us from the Puritan period.

Before he died he had the satisfaction of

knowing that the godly people of England were faithful, and that across the Atlantic the Church of Christ was growing up on foundations he had helped to lay as wide as Heaven itself. In England he knew that liberty would come, though he might not live to see the time.

On the day when strong hands bore him lovingly to Bunhill Fields, men and boys were offering for sale about the streets the dying sayings of Dr. Thomas Goodwin, just as people now hawk broadsheets about the streets when a great man dies.

Goodwin was succeeded in his office at Fetter Lane by Thankful Owen, who within two weeks also died, and was buried in Goodwin's vault.

In 1680 his second son, Richard, obtained an engagement in the service of the East India Company, and died on the voyage out.

Fourteen years afterwards, in her sixtieth

year, Goodwin's faithful wife died also, and was buried with her husband. The vault has not been disturbed since, and the stones that mark the spot have so much decayed that very few of the original sentences sculptured upon it are now recognisable.

The following is a translation of the original inscription relating to Dr. Goodwin, copied from Wilson's "Dissenting Churches," vol. iii. p. 431 :—

Here lies the body of
the Rev. THOMAS GOODWIN, D.D.

Born at Rolesby,
in the county of Norfolk.

He had a large and familiar acquaintance
with ancient,
and above all,
with ecclesiastical history.
He was exceeded by none
in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.
He was at once blessed with a rich invention
and a solid and exact judgment.
He carefully compared together
the different parts of Holy Writ,

and, with a marvellous felicity,
discovered the latent sense
of the Divine Spirit
who indited them.
None ever entered deeper
into the mysteries of the Gospel,
or more clearly unfolded them
for the benefit of others.
The matter, form, discipline,
and all that relates
to the constitution of a true Church of Christ,
he traced out with an uncommon sagacity.
If he was not rather the first divine
who thoroughly investigated them,
he was eminently qualified
by the light of sacred truth,
to pacify troubled consciences,
to dispel the clouds of mistake,
and remove needless scruples
from perplexed and bewildered minds.
In knowledge, wisdom, and eloquence
he was a truly Christian pastor.
In his private discourses,
as well as in his public ministry,
he edified numbers of souls
whom he first won to Christ,
till, having finished his appointed course,
both of services and sufferings,
in the cause of his Divine Master,
he gently fell asleep in Jesus.
His writings already published,
and what are now preparing for publication—

the noblest monuments of this great muse's praise—
will diffuse his name in a more fragrant odour
than that of the richest perfume,
to flourish in those far distant ages,
when this marble, inscribed in his just honour,
shall have dropt into dust.
He died February 23rd, 1679,
in the eightieth year of his age.

With him there now lie, in the same grave, the Rev. Thankful Owen, who died April 1st, 1681, aged sixty-three; and Goodwin's second wife, who died May 10th, 1693, aged sixty.

"Goodwin," says Dr. Halley, "was unmistakeably a Calvinist. . . . . I know no Calvinist of the age so decided as Goodwin, who thought so kindly of Baxter and Howe. . . . . I know no Independent who contended so strenuously as he did. . . . that ever since the Reformation there have been 'churches to God in all the Reformed Churches.'"

Dr. Goodwin was not a man for his own age

only, but for the centuries; and now, after the lapse of nearly two and a half centuries, the church and congregation he founded exhibit distinctive marks of its paternal origin.

CHAPTER XIV.

Letters now in possession of the Church—Ministers succeeding Mallery—John Collins, Senr.—Mary Hilton's Letter, 1680—Francis Howel—John King—Mr. Mather—Church Members—John Collins, Junr.—Robert Bragge—Marriage with Phœbe Strudwick—Philip Gibbs—John Hill—Church Letters—Penny Postage—Clement Harrison—Thomas Lambert—Mary Lane—John Richardson—Ruth Linsey's Letter—William Porter—John Reynolds—John Clayton—S. B. Bergne—Jas. Spence—Dr. Parker—Memorial Tablet.

WE must now relate as much as we know of the pastors who followed Dr. Goodwin down to the present time; but we have not made the subject of their lives a special study, inasmuch as our labours were to be strictly confined to the first church and her founder.

It is much to be regretted that amongst the church records there are none which go

back to the period of the first church. What a pleasure it would have been to have read the names of the first members of the church, and the first office-bearers! What additional glory might not the records have thrown upon the early time when Goodwin talked with Cromwell, and with Milton, and with Andrew Marvell, and with the generals and officers, and Parliament men of the Protectorate! But a few things have survived from a period dating from the year after Goodwin's death, which are full of interest.

These documents consist for the main part of letters written by applicants for church membership; and they reveal many an interesting picture of home life in London, and in the country, and of God's dealing with human hearts. These letters number sixty-seven, and furnish us with a goodly number of members' names. We propose to bring them into our further narrative in connection with

the ministers to whom they were addressed. Besides these, there are several books, all of much later date, referring to diaconal work, and to the several societies connected with the church and congregation. None of these books do we propose to analyze; we reserve them for the use of the future historian of the City Temple. The whole of these papers and books were contained in a tin-box, in the private possession of one of the deacons, and since we have been engaged upon the preparation of this work, they have been generously surrendered to the church.

At the time of Goodwin's death, the Rev. John Collins, sen., was pastor of the church from which the City Temple has descended. He was one of the Merchants' lecturers at Pinner's Hall; and was "a minister," says Wilson, "of uncommon abilities, and greatly signalised himself as a preacher."

During his ministry, in the year 1680, he received a letter praying for admission to the church, from a Mrs. Mary Hilton, which is amongst those that now survive; and as this is the oldest application, and contains much curious matter, we print it verbatim :—

"I am desiroous to joyn with this Church if you will please to admitt me, and therefore am willing to give sum acount to you of the dealings of God with my soule. I shall not trouble you with anything as to my Education, onely let you know my Mother was a very Gratious woman, and did use her utmoste indeavours to bring me up in the fear of the lord as long as I was with her, but by the good providence of God I was brought to London: whear my lott was cast in a very Godly famely, whear I have had much experience of the goodness of God; but indeed I could see nothing that was good in my selfe. But I did hartely love and

honnour them that did fear the lord, which did give me sume hope the lord did love me, then the lord, blessed be his name, did manifest himselfe to me, in kindleing strong desirs in me for an injoyment of his blessed presents and holy Spiritt; and I had indeed this answere to me, but by reason of my bad memory and mean capassety I cannot give you a perticuler acount of every experienc I had, but, in short, that I did see my self undun for ever, if I had not an interest in Christ. And then did God, for ever blessed be his name, com in with such manifestations of him self and bringing such scripturs to my mind, which did give me hope in his mercy, and did inable me in sum measur, by faith, to lay hold of Christ as my portion, but after this the lord did withdwra his presens from me, and I was in a very great Conflict with Satan and my own hart, and that which did agrevaite my trouble

was, that although I was constant in hearing God's word for many years, and wher it was powerfully preached it was in this Church, I did not profitt, and through the naughtenesse of my own hart and Cares of this world, my convichtions have been often stifled; but God did not leave striving with me, but did againe look upon me with, I hope a look of love as he did on petter. And one time when I was in great trouble, by reason of the litle groth grace had in me, and the great power sin had in me, God did uphold me from sinking into dispare, by this Scripture, my grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weaknesse. thus I was inabled to lay hold of, being, as I was persuaded spoke to me, but the comfort which I had from this was againe clouded by reason of my still Remaining soe unprofittable under the means of grace and then I did again question

whether or noe I had ever a senseer desire for God, or any right to him or his ways or Gospell that place coming to my mind, if the Gospell be hid, it is to them that perish, and so I did remaine for some time without any comfort, but the lord, who is tender in his compations, did not leave me hear nither, but did greatly suport me by this Scripture Daughter be of good Chear thy sins be forgiven thee, these words I can truly say came with such power, that I almost think I had heard it spoken to me, many more Scriptur have at severall times been brought to my mind which hath more strengthened my weak faith, and given me sume hope that I doe belong to God in and through Christ, and that in sinserity of hart I hope I can say, I doe Rely one Jesus Christ a lone for salvation, and for the further strengthening me in this my hope, I doe humbly desire I may be a pertaker

with you in your holy Communion, as also being desirous to be found submitting my self to Christ in all his holy ordenances with obedience, I have now very meanly given you an acount of the hope that is in me, which, if I know any thing of my own hart, although it hath been very imperfect, yet it hath been the Reall truth. I doe now wholly refer myself to you, as you shall judg of me, and humbly beg your prayers.—MARY HILLTON."

This letter was evidently written by a servant; and the writing and composition show her to have been well-educated for the age in which she lived.

The Rev. Francis Howel, M.A., assisted Mr. Collins. He was fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, one of the proctors of the university, and reader of moral philosophy. In 1654 he was appointed by Cromwell one of the new visitors of Oxford, and afterwards principal of

Jesus College. After the restoration he was deprived of these appointments. He then came to London, where he became assistant to Mr. Collins, but died before him on March 10th, 1679, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

Mr. John Collins, sen., died December 3rd, 1687.

The Rev. John King succeeded Mr. Howel as assistant to Mr. Collins, and left the congregation in January, 1688, for a church at Yarmouth. What ultimately became of him is not known.

The Rev. Nathaniel Mather was born in England, but received his education at Harvard College, New England. He was called from a church in Dublin to take charge of the congregation left by Mr. Collins. He continued to labour amongst the congregation until July 26th, 1697, when he died, aged sixty-seven, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

Seven of the preserved letters were addressed

to him; they bear the following dates and names:—

1689.	Sept. 1 . . .	Mrs. Margaret Harrison.
„	„ 24 . . .	Mr. Langston.
1690.	April 26 . . .	Mrs. Frances Hawley.
„	May 4 . . .	Mrs. Harison.
„	„ . . .	Mr. Harison.
1694.	March 17 . .	Mr. Holland, dismissed to Hull.
1695.	May 27 . . .	Mrs. Sarah Hooper.

Mrs. Harrison speaks of Christ being able to "save to the outmost," and she adds, "I desire to ly at the Poole of all his holy ordinances."

Mr. Langston says he was converted in "Wooster," and speaks about "praying aloud in the fields."

Mrs. Frances Hawley was sent to London to an uncle, who was a Church of England man; and he used to deride her for going to chapel. She persevered, and speaks of her being supported by remembering the passage which says that God would not "sqeech" smoking flax. She had no father living.

Mr. Mather was assisted in his work of the ministry by the Rev. Robert Trail. He was a native of Scotland, and was ordained by a band of Presbyterian ministers. In early life he had to take refuge in Holland from persecutors; and while there assisted Nethenus of Utrecht in the production of a valuable work. On returning to England he was appointed to assist Mr. Mather, and did so until that gentleman's death, when he left the congregation and gathered a new one of his own. He died in 1716.

The Rev. John Collins, jun., son of the former Mr. Collins, and the Rev. Robert Bragge, were ordained together as the successors of Mr. Mather in 1698. Mr. Collins was the first to die—in 1714, when about forty years of age; and Mr. Bragge survived until 1738, when he died, aged seventy-two.

Mr. Collins spent some portion of his college life in the University of Utrecht. In

1702 he took part in the ordination of Dr. Isaac Watts. As a preacher he was popular, and was held in great esteem by all the churches.

Mr. Robert Bragge was the son of a minister; and he, like Mr. Collins, finished his college studies in the University of Utrecht. He was lecturing at Salter's Hall before his ordination with Mr. Collins; and after the death of Mr. Collins he continued in the pastoral charge (with various assistants) until his death. He was celebrated as a lecturer, and took part in the great theological disputes of his day. The name of Mr. Bragge is endeared to this congregation by the fact that he married Phœbe Strudwick. Phœbe was the daughter of a grocer, who carried on business on Snow Hill, and was one of the first deacons of Hare Court Chapel. He has achieved everlasting fame by having been the friend at whose house John Bunyan died

of fever in 1688. In his last illness Bunyan was nursed by Phœbe, and she and her father jotted down the well-known sayings that he spoke shortly before his death. John Bunyan, John Strudwick, Phœbe Bragge, and the Rev. Robert Bragge, all lie in the same vault in Bunhill Fields.

Mr. Bragge's assistants were the Rev. Philip Gibbs, who joined him in 1715, and in 1729 removed to Hackney; next, after the lapse of three years, the Rev. John Atkinson, who was called "teaching elder," who died in 1735, having exercised the office for three years only; and the Rev. John Hill, who was "teaching elder" for about a year, when he removed to another church.

There are forty letters in existence, between the years 1709 and 1738, relating to applications for admission to the church. The writers of the letters, and dates where given, are as follow:—

1709.	July 8	Mrs. Howard.
1710.	June 26	Rees Lewis.
1711.	October 7	Mrs. Lambert.
1712.	July 6	Mrs. Sarah Hillier.
,,	October 8	John Haddon.
1713.	July 5	Charles Haydon.
,,	November 14 . . .	Mr. Thomas Lambert [2].
1714.	April 4	Matthew Hart.
,,	October 3	Mr. B. Hutchison.
1715.	July 3	Mrs. Sarah Haws.
1716.	February 3	Mrs. Jane Lee.
,,	May 6	Elizabeth Lovelace.
,,	November 4 . . .	William Limbery.
1717.	November 3 . . .	Mary Hodson.
1718.	September	Mary Holyland.
1721.	November	Ann Loyd.
,,	December 18 . . .	Mrs. Mary Hunsdon.
1722.	March 3	Mrs. Ann Horrocks.
,,	March 18	Mrs. Abigail Hazard.
,,	July 1	Mr. William Hargrave.
,,	October 22	Dorcas Hilton.
1723.	October 22	Abigail Hazard.
1725.	March 15	Mary Late.
,,	. . . . .	Mary Latte.
1729.	August 3	Eleanor Hoare.
,,	. . . . .	Sarah Lloyd.
1732.	August 7	Clement Harrison.
,,	October 1	Oliver Halliwell.
1733	. . . . .	Margaret Lloyd.
(No date, but internal evidence fixes about this as the date)	. . . . .	Mary Lord.

(No date, but internal evidence fixes about this as the date)	. . . . .	Sarah Hills.
„	„	Mrs. Elizabeth Hill.
„	„	Thomas Lambert.
„	„	Rebecca Hancock.
„	„	Caleb Lane.
„	„	Elizabeth Hamlett.
„	„	William Harwood.
1738. May 22	. . . . .	Mary Lane.
„ December 3	. . . .	Susanna Litchfield.
„ December 3	. . . .	Ann Litchfield.

These, of course, do not furnish a complete list of those added to the church in these years; but they are all that have survived, and are on that account worthy of preservation.

The letter written for Mr. Thomas Lambert is directed, "To Mr. Lambert, at his shop at the end of London Bridge, without the gate," and is stamped with the impression of the three-cornered penny stamp existing in those days.

Clement Harrison, in his letter, says that he

was "a quarter gunner" on board a man-of-war, and was deeply impressed by reading a book entitled "Sweet drops from the Rock Christ."

Thomas Lambert came from Cumberland, and in his letter he says, when at home, he had to walk five or six miles to hear a preacher; but he adds, during the service "I got looks of love from Jesus Christ."

Mary Lane wrote: "I know that nothing is to be brought to Christ, but all to be received from Him, nothing but sin-sick souls to be healed, and guilty souls to be pardoned, and filthy souls to be cleansed, and enslaved souls to be set at liberty, and empty souls to be filled."

The Rev. John Richardson was appointed assistant to Mr. Bragge in 1736, and upon his death, in 1738, became sole pastor. Mr. Richardson continued to preach in Lime Street until the meeting-house was taken

down, in 1755; and about the same time Mr. Richardson resigned. The church then divided, and the larger portion, who retained the church books, chose Mr. Porter as their pastor.

During the ministry of Mr. Richardson, the following is the list of applicants for membership whose letters have survived:—

1739.	August 5	Mary Harrison.
1740.	March 1	Elizabeth Holiday.
„	May 19	Anna Huicks.
„	November 2	Elizabeth Hilton.
1741.	December 6	Jacob Humphreys.
„	December 14 . . .	Martha Hallier.
1742.	November 7	Thomas Hall.
1743.	November 28 . . .	Ruth Linsey.
1744.	July 22	Moses Lewis.
„	August 6	Ann Hartry.
1745.	September 2	Mary Hawkins.
1746.	July 6	Elizabeth Hatt.
„	December 7	Sarah Hammond.
„	December 7	Susanna Holdsworth.
1747.	March 25	Jane Darby.
„	December 6	Robert Hodgson.

Jacob Humphreys attributed his conversion

to a sermon by Whitfield, on the words, "Ye must be born again."

Martha Hallier speaks of her father and mother having been members of the same church.

Ruth Linsey's letter is the very saddest amongst the whole; the description of the mental sufferings she endured is remarkably pathetic, and yet her letter is endorsed with these words:

"The experience of Ruth Linsey, ye 28 Nov. 1743. Read to the Church.

"On Enquiry after her Moral Life, and Conversation and Discourse with her, finding she could not wholly give up Herself to the Watch of the Church, no Report was made to them."

The letter, however, is such a solemn one, that we have printed the whole, the spelling and punctuation being an exact reproduction of the original:—

"to the church of Christ under the pastrol care of the Rev. Mr. Richardson in lime street grase mercy and pease be multepleyd to you from god our father and from our lord Jesus Christ. the Lord was pleasd to awaken me under a sermon preacth by Mr. whitfeald thes ware the worsd cursed is he that continueth not in all things riteven in the book of the lawy to do them thes words folled me near 6 month. I was under grate trobel crying out what shall I do to be saved the more I whent to hear the word the heveyer my burden grew the Lord was pleasd to show that I was as the leper in Matthew ye 72 and Jesus put forth his hand saying I will be though clean and immeidley his leprosie was released the Lord gave me grate comfort under thes words for some time tell the burnden of my sins was as grate as ever tell the Lord was pleasd to return and

visit me again with grate power and ful ashurancs of the words Christ dyde for the three times. I have grate reson to bless the Lord for calling such a vile siner as I ham o how presous was Christ to my soul at this seson I see the Lord as it ware standing with open harmes redey to recvie such a hell dsereing siner as I ham saying come near me thou poor diceted soul come and view me in garments rouled in blood for such a siner as I ham thes words came with power to my soul saying ye I have loved thee with a very lasting Love tharfore with Loveing kindness have I dwrane thee o what reson have I to lay even in the dust at the feet of a dear redeemer how has shed his presous [blood] for some of the fallen rase of mankind and I hope for such a grate sinner as I ham both bey natur and practes. o how precous is Christ to ever one how bleeveth one him and how are unabel to clase with

by faith as thare rock and thare redeemer in hoom all the promces are ye and amen to the prase and gloyry of god the father Lucke ye 23 and the 40 43 verse thes words was sweet to my soul when the thef on the crose says to Christ Lord remember me when thou comest into thy kinndom under thes words the Lord enabel me to see my sins nalde to the crose of a one crusesfied but now a risen and a exalted redeemer thes words continied many days upon my saying Lord remember me when thou entrest in thy kindome. The word has bin bless to my soul under the devine inflewanes of the ever blessed and holy sperit in this place one place out of Kings ye 6 and 16 and he ancered fear not for they that be for us are more than thay that be agane us hear the Lord gave me grate incuredgment to go on in his ways regosing with the promces that he wold be with those hoom he had enabeld

to bleeve on him thes words ware made I trust of some use to my soul out of John ye 20 and ye 28 vrs. then said he to thomas reach ether thy finger and behold my hands and reach ether thy hand and thrust it into my side and be not faithles but beleeve and thomas sayd my Lord and my god under thes words was I enabeld by devine acistance to cry out with thomas my Lord and my god I beg that I may be enabeld to look back to the rock from whenc I was hewen and the hole of the pitt from wence I was diged that sin may apare exceeding to me and Christ more presous to my soul as the Lord has called by his grace I trust to his kimdom and glory I desire me to call upon my soul and all that is within me to prase his holy and glorous name for free and saveing grase in calling sinfull me and pasing by many others I desire that I may at all times ley low under a sence of my being unworthy of the

least faver from god I desire first to give my self to the Lord and to this church of Christ that Mr. Richardson is made overseer desrveing those prayr the Lord wold enabell me to walk worthy of him.—RUTH LINSEY."

Poor Ruth! how hard to go about her daily business with such a load of agony upon her heart. The officers of the church were very strict in those days, and she must have been subjected to a severe cross-examination which frightened her, as such examinations often do a timid Christian, and so no report was made. Let us hope, however, that her eyes and her heart were truly opened unto the Lord, and that she was accepted of Him. Yet with all hope, the letter will always read like a wail from the grave.

With this letter we close our extracts.

There is only one other letter to which we wish to refer, and that is dated June, 1813, and was written by H. Medhurst. These letters

form a very interesting collection. Many of them quote the text under which the writers were converted, and name godly books that helped to complete the work of salvation for their souls. But the existence of these few makes us regret all the more the loss of others.

The books relate chiefly to accounts in connection with the several charitable objects established and carried on by the church.

The earliest list of church members is dated 1805. There are many little things in these books which will be of interest and value a hundred years hence.

* The Rev. William Porter became pastor of the Church in 1756. At that time the congregation worshipped on the morning of the Lord's Day in a meeting-house belonging to Mr. Jollie's congregation, in Miles' Lane. But in 1766 they removed to a new

* Wilson, vol. i. p. 388.

meeting-house, which they had erected in Camomile Street. Mr. Porter was born near Royston, in Kent, and was educated at the Mile End Academy, London. He was ordained pastor at Miles' Lane, August 7, 1756. His congregation worshipped in Mr. Jollie's meeting-house, on the morning of the Lord's Day, and in the afternoon in an ancient meeting-house in Hoxton Square. This arrangement was maintained for ten years; and then the congregation removed to their new place of worship in Camomile Street. Here Mr. Porter continued with the Church for seven years, and resigned his charge on account of failing health Feb. 4, 1773.

*The Rev. John Reynolds succeeded to the pastorship, and commenced his labours March 2, 1774. He was born in London in 1739, and in early life was apprenticed to

* Wilson, vol. i. p. 390.

a watchmaker. He had no regular education for the ministry; but laboured in Camomile Street upwards of thirty years. He died Dec. 7, 1803, in his sixty-fifth year, and was buried in Bunhill-Fields.

*The Rev. John Clayton, M.A., was the eldest son of the Rev. John Clayton, of Weighhouse Chapel. There were three sons, each of whom entered the ministry, and attained celebrity in London. John was educated at Edinburgh, and his first pastoral labours were at Newbury, where he acted as assistant to the Rev. John Winter. In 1801, when he was twenty-one years of age, he was invited to settle over a congregation worshipping in what was then known as "the village of Kensington." This was in 1801; and he remained there nearly four years. In 1803 he married. In 1805 he,

* From "Memorials of the Clayton Family," by the Rev. T. W. Aveling.

commenced his ministry over this congregation, then worshipping in Camomile Street, and he was with the congregation when they determined to erect their chapel in the Poultry. The land selected belonged to the Corporation of the City of London, to whom the congregation paid £2,000 for the land, and the total cost of the place amounted to £10,000. It was opened in Nov. 17, 1819; and Mr. Clayton's connection with the Church extended over a period of more than forty years. Increasing infirmities induced Mr. Clayton to resign the pastorate in 1848; and from that period he retired into private life. He was born May 13, 1780, and died Oct. 3, 1865, in his eighty-sixth year.

The Rev. S. B. Bergne succeeded Mr. Clayton, and is now one of the honoured secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He officiated as pastor for seven years.

The Rev. James Spence, D.D., was born

at Huntly, April 6, 1811. He proceeded to King's College, Aberdeen, in the autumn of 1837, and took his M.A. degree in 1844. In 1845, on July 3, he was ordained to his first pastoral charge at Oxford. From Oxford he received, in 1848, a call to Cannon Street Chapel, Preston; and in May, 1854, he commenced his pastoral work at the Poultry Chapel. Here he laboured for thirteen years. During his pastorship of the Poultry, the Grub Street, otherwise known as the Milton Street, Chapel was rented by the Church and congregation for evangelistic purposes, and for a Sunday school. In 1856 the University of Aberdeen conferred upon Mr. Spence the degree of D.D. The state of Mr. Spence's health, never robust, induced his friends to recommend a trip to Egypt and the Holy Land in 1865, on which he was accompanied by Dr. Stoughton, Dr. Allon, and other friends; but he received no benefit to his health, and

in 1867 he retired from the Poultry. He was afterwards minister of the Old Gravel Pit Meeting-house, Hackney. Dr. Spence had retired from actual pastoral labour more than five years, when he died Feb. 28, 1876, in his sixty-fifth year.

DR. JOSEPH PARKER had been for full eleven years the minister of Cavendish Street Chapel, Manchester, in succession to the Rev. Robert Halley, D.D., when he was invited to become pastor of the Poultry Chapel, London. He entered upon his ministry in London on Sunday, September 19th, 1869. The Poultry Chapel was sold under the order of the Charity Commissioners, and the freehold was bought by the London Joint-Stock Bank for £50,200.

The memorial stone of the City Temple was laid on Monday, May 19th, 1873, by the Rev. Thomas Binney, LL.D. Amongst the great numbers present were the Rev. Dr.

Allon, Rev. Dr. Raleigh, Rev. Dr. Macfarlane, Rev. Dr. Aveling, Rev. Dr. Newth, Rev. J. C. Harrison, Rev. Eustace R. Conder, M.A. (Chairman of the Congregational Union), Rev. Edward White, Rev. Samuel Minton, M.A., Rev. G. W. Conder, Rev. Clement Dukes, M.A., Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B., Rev. A. F. Muir, M.A., Rev. Dr. Davidson, Rev. Dr. Paterson, Rev. J. S. Russell, M.A., Dr. Underhill (Chairman of the Baptist Union), Rev. David Thomas (of Bristol), Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., Mr. Deputy Fry, Mr. Deputy Lowman Taylor, and Mr. McGeorge (Chairman of the City Lands Committee).

The City Temple was opened for public worship on Tuesday, May 19th, 1876, when the Rev. Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander, of Edinburgh, preached in the morning, and the Rev. Dr. John Stoughton, of Kensington, in the evening. The luncheon was attended by the Very Rev. A. P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of

THE CITY TEMPLE—INTERIOR.

Westminster. The Lord Mayor of London, and the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, attended the morning service in state, and the Lord Mayor presided at the luncheon.

The site of the City Temple cost upwards of £28,000 for the freehold and incidental expenses. The total cost of site, building, organ, furnishing, and lighting approached £70,000. The pulpit, value 300 guineas, was the gift of the Corporation, during the lord mayoralty of Sir Sydney Waterlow, Bart. The pastor's library, value £500, was the gift of John Rylands, Esq., of Manchester and London. Sir John Bennett presented the clock. Dr. W. Patton, of New Haven, Connecticut, presented the pulpit Bible, and Messrs. Cooper and Holt presented the communion chair.

The Thursday morning service (noon) was begun by Dr. Parker in Poultry Chapel, on September 23rd, 1869, and has been continued by him without intermission until this time,

and is now as flourishing as at any period of its history. This service has attracted the notice of the English and American press, and has been attended by many thousands of people from various countries.

During the progress of this work, Dr. Parker having made known many of the new facts that had been discovered relating to Dr. Goodwin, a proposition to erect some memorial of the Church's founder was received with great favour. A fund was raised, and directions to prepare a memorial tablet for erection in the vestibule of the church were given to Mr. Edward J. Physick, the sculptor. The memorial was publicly uncovered by Dr. Parker, on Thursday, Dec. 7, 1876. The tablet is of pure white Carrara marble, having a black marble background. Over a very bold and natural scroll, occupying a prominent position in the centre, and upon which the principal inscription is engraved, the sculptor

has thrown in high relief a palm branch, indicative of the Christian's victory over sin and death; while at the base, the foundation as it were upon which the Christian's life is built, is an open Bible—not a formal volume as frequently seen, but a carefully studied family Bible in very effective perspective, and hereon are placed two memorable quotations—viz. one of Dr. Goodwin's texts when preaching before the Houses of Parliament, and Dr. Parker's text on the opening of the City Temple.

The inscription is as follows:—

"THE CITY TEMPLE.
The oldest Congregational Church in London.
The Church assembling here
was formed in sixteen hundred and forty
by the
REV. THOMAS GOODWIN, D.D.;
Preacher to the Council of State;
President of Magdalen College, Oxford;
Member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines;
Chaplain to OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Church first met in Anchor Lane, Thames St.;
Thence removed, in 1672, to Paved Alley, Lime St.;
Thence, in 1755, to Miles' Lane;
Thence, in 1766, to Camomile St.;
From
Thence, in 1819, under the Ministry of the
REV. JOHN CLAYTON,
To the Poultry, Cheapside;
And thence, in 1873, under the Ministry of
JOSEPH PARKER, D.D.,
To the South-Western end of Holborn Viaduct.

This Tablet
is erected by the Church to perpetuate
the Hallowed Memory of
Her Venerable and Illustrious
Founder.

Zechariah, iv. ch., 6 v.
Not by might
nor by power,
but by my Spirit,
saith the Lord
of Hosts.
[DR. GOODWIN'S text at
St. Margaret's, Westminster.]

Exodus, xl. ch., 33, 34 v.
So Moses
finished the work,
and the Glory
of the Lord filled
the Tabernacle.
[DR. PARKER'S first text in
the City Temple.]

We have finished our task. The origin of the church, and the life of her founder, have been set forth at greater length than any other stage of our past history. The life and

character of the first church is wholly contained in the life, character, and work of her founder. He was the pulse of the church; and although no document remains relating to the church itself, we know all she was by remembering who and what Dr. Goodwin was. The church now presents, in a marked measure, the attributes of the founder. These attributes have accompanied her through the centuries, and they burn now in as brilliant a degree as they did at first. The church has never before risen to greater prominence than now: in brotherly love, in mutual fellowship, in works of charity, in teaching, in nursing the sick, in mighty prayer, she is distinguished in a measure that has never hitherto been recorded of her.

In one other respect this, the latest, stands on an equality of advantage with the first church. Dr. Goodwin and Dr. Owen have been described by Anthony Wood "As

the Atlas and Ulysses of Independency." Dr. Goodwin was a giant in his time, and did a giant's work; and in these latter days the church is on an equality with the earliest one, in the possession of a pastor who equals Dr. Goodwin in the breadth and depth of his learning, and in the brilliancy and power of his discourses, and has excelled him in the measure of success with which God has blessed his efforts.

We must leave to a future historian the pleasant task of telling about the ministry of the Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D., on whose forty-seventh birthday, April 9, 1877, these memorials were completed.

THE END.

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